

Throwing Stones at Friars: The Church of San Francesco in Piacenza

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of art history in the Department of  
Art, Art History & Visual Studies in the Graduate School  
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ABSTRACT

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## Abstract

In 1278, the Franciscan Order of Piacenza acquired a large piece of land in the center of the city. The land had been confiscated by the commune when the property's former owner had been exiled several years earlier. However, that land was occupied by at least eleven other private and commercial tenants, including the jurisdictions of five different parishes. The friars immediately set to work demolishing the houses, and sealing off the site with a high enclosure wall. They then began construction on a large church and convent. The impact on the economy of the parish churches in loss of charitable revenue was immediate. One month into their project, a representative of the Bishop and Chapter of the Cathedral arrived at the site and denounced the friars in the name of the harm it was inflicting on the surrounding parishes. The friars ignored the warning and the result was their excommunication. Four years later Pope Martin IV sent three delegates to investigate the Franciscans' actions. The inquest that followed was recorded in a detailed manuscript that is preserved in Parma's *Archivio di Stato*. The document records the testimony of eighteen witnesses, including parish priests, neighboring lay people and workers on the building. Their testimony and the accompanying documentary material allows us to reconstruct the alteration to the economic and urban fabric of the parish community caused by the Franciscans.

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## *Introduction*

### HISTORIOGRAPHIES & METHODOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

In the northern-Italian city of Piacenza, a parish church dedicated to San Francesco (Saint Francis) and a single cloister arm are the last vestiges of what was once a substantial conventual complex. The church's western façade faces the central square, Piazza Cavalli (fig. 1). Multiple openings punctuate the façade's expansive planar surface. On the ground story, two doorways flank a large central portal with a sculpted tympanum and jambs (fig. 2). Two lancet windows open above the lateral doors. A rose window dominates the upper story, demarcated from the lower by a horizontal stringcourse molding. Two smaller oculi open into thin air, emulating the flying buttresses behind them and revealing the incongruity of the screen façade with the body of the building it conceals. Two tiny doorways open above the nave vault, echoed in the blind openings on the four pilaster strips that divide the bilaterally symmetrical façade. Three pinnacles crown the gable; the same intersecting-arch motif lines both the cornice and the horizontal stringcourse. The undulation of the flying buttresses reinforces the brick mass looming over the surrounding buildings (fig. 3).

On the interior of the church, an arcade of pointed arches resting on brick columns separates the nave from shallow side aisles, some embellished by chapels (figs. 4-8). A web of ribs and pilasters, painted to represent the brick construction underneath, divide and articulate the white-washed upper-story walls and vaults (fig. 9). Two lancet windows and a single oculus puncture each bay in the clerestory; wooden doors seal small molded openings on the triforium (fig. 10). The non-projecting transept is equal in height to the crossing and nave vaults (fig. 11). Octagonal piers differentiate the crossing from the bays to the west (fig. 12). To the east, the chevet terminates in a hemicycle of five columns of alternating circumference, with the larger of the two in line with the central axis of the ground plan (fig. 13). Five lancet windows and a heptapartite vault surmount the hemicycle. The campanile prevents the symmetry of a sixth window on the south side, the wall punctured instead by a small doorway. The side aisles, after the interruption of the transept, perambulate to either side and behind the choir (fig. 14, 41-42). Each of the four contiguous polygonal chapels

behind the ambulatory contains two lancet windows and is covered with a heptapartite vault—each chapel a version of the choir in miniature (fig. 59).

Monumental buildings line the rest of the Piazza Cavalli, the two most recent—built in the 1930s—just south of the church (figs. 15-24). Diagonally across from San Francesco, the Palazzo Gotico (figs. 17-18, 33) also recalls the piazza's thirteenth-century history. Repackaged in a modern urban context, the two medieval buildings are representatives of their century's mendicant and civic architecture, respectively.<sup>1</sup> Though it is just shy of the internationally recognizable canon of medieval Italian architecture, San Francesco's historiography reveals an important chapter in the establishment of that canon.

## Historiography in the Era of Nationalism

In the formative years (1859-1922) of the Italian nation-state, nationalistic zeal expressed itself through the reclamation of medieval buildings as representative of a distinctly *Italian* heritage. Such buildings were reclaimed through historiography, preservation, and stylistic revival. Exploration of San Francesco's early historiography and its cultural context provides an introduction to how the building is understood and how it came to be so.

### ADOLFO VENTURI & THE INVENTION OF ITALIAN NATIONAL ART HISTORY

One of the primary ways that medieval architecture was deployed toward nationalistic ends was through the institutionalization of the discipline of art history in Italian secondary schools and universities. In a recent dissertation, French scholar Thomas Renard identified Adolfo Venturi, author of the encyclopedic *Storia dell'arte italiana*, as the discipline's protagonist. Venturi addressed his publications to a popular audience, locating the birth of national art in the particular regionalism of medieval art. Renard recognized Venturi's project as dealing with

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien* (Berlin: G. Grote, 1885); John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250-1400*, Pelican History of Art (Baltimore: Penguin, 1966); Antonio Cadei, "Cori francescani ad ambulacro e cappelle radiali," in *Storia e cultura a Padova nell'età di Sant'Antonio: convegno internazionale di studi, 1-4 ottobre 1981, Padova-Monselice, Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padovana* (Padua: Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, 1985); Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Ordines studentes: Aspekte zur Kirchenarchitektur der Dominikaner und Franziskaner im 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1985).

the specificity of Italian art, starting from the Italian character in its medieval roots. Recent historiography has shown that between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by inventing the idea of Romanesque art, art historians were able to provide people with a precise tool in their will to affirm their national sovereignty.<sup>2</sup>

Central to the utility of that tool was the absence of strict documentation about medieval forms, such as those that governed Classical art. Since no rulebooks survived between Vitruvius and Alberti, medieval forms were available empty signifiers. The incoherence that had made medieval architecture unattractive to the humanists liberated nineteenth-century historians to invent new aesthetic systems. Modern empirical practices of identification and classification had a tangible impact on the taxonomic methodology of medieval architectural historiography, in which connoisseurs stratified building plans, molding types, and renderings of drapery folds along genealogical continua. The absence of an established historiographical tradition resulted in the creation of new aesthetic teleologies, which charted the emergence of ideal medieval forms or their corruption. These formal schemes located “Albertian Gothics” along national genealogies of “completed medieval churches,” simultaneously conceiving medieval style, the discipline of medieval architectural history, and national identity.

Venturi sought to rectify the lack of scholarship on medieval art in Italy. He argued that overlooked and misunderstood medieval history explained his contemporaries’ incomprehension of the national character of Italian art. Once medieval art was properly understood, he suggested, the “profound and permanent nature of a national Italian art would be revealed.”<sup>3</sup> He further reasoned, “the rejection of the Middle Ages as a period of barbarism kept Italians in ignorance of their national artistic culture.”<sup>4</sup> But Venturi was not a total revisionist, clarifying that it was precisely “in the barbarian Middle Ages, in that ethnic contact of populations, among the ruins and the woods” that “modern life arose, the blood of our blood flowed.”<sup>5</sup> The barbarian other was still found in the Middle Ages, but they were familiar, Italian barbarians, the Italian nation’s ethnic forefathers.

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Renard, “Architecture et figures identitaires de l’Italie unifiée (1861-1921)” (Thèse en Cotutelle pour obtenir le grade de docteur en histoire de l’art, Université Paris-Sorbonne, Università Ca’ Foscari, 2012), 152.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

## NATIONALISTIC MEDIEVALISMS IN EUROPE

The nationalistic origins of medieval art historiography elsewhere in Europe have been acknowledged by other scholars. As in Italy, enthusiasm for the Middle Ages manifested itself in medieval architectural revivals, nationalistic architectural historiography, and the establishment of institutions of preservation. In his extensive intellectual history of medieval art historiography, Conrad Rudolph succinctly described the politically minded, historicizing Gothic Revival that began in eighteenth-century England at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill:

More historicist than many contemporary examples of the Gothic Revival (often described as "follies") but less than would generally be the case in the nineteenth century, Strawberry Hill and other Revivalist works employed Gothic as a novel source of inspiration for contemporary design—one that broke away from the old Mediterranean precedent in its search for a new *indigenous* style as part of a gradually evolving and very *self-conscious conception of national identity*. "Gothic" was clearly no longer a term of criticism, at least to some. The pointed arch that had earlier distanced medieval architecture negatively from the Classical precedent with its round arch now did so in a positive way, one that was soon to spread throughout Europe (emphasis mine).<sup>6</sup>

Rudolph's Anglo-centric perspective is clear from this passage, but Walpole's Strawberry Hill is nevertheless a strong early example of a self-consciously nationalistic medieval revival—the pointed arch now signifying the antithesis of the Classical in a good way.

Rudolph outlined the establishment of institutions of preservation contemporaneous with the earliest histories of medieval architecture in France, Britain, and Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the corresponding battle between scholars in those nations over the origin of Gothic.<sup>7</sup> Notably absent from Rudolph's account of the debate are scholars from the southern European peninsula that is now the Italian nation-state. Italy was not yet a "nation" during the sparring of scholars in the Republics/Empires/Kingdoms of France, Great Britain, Prussia, or Austria. "Italy" was merely a concept, one that Napoleon had tried to make an institutional reality as early as 1796, but which was still under the control of the Austrian Hapsburgs and the Spanish Bourbons, who passed Italy's multiple duchies and kingdoms between them with a brief French rotation during the Napoleonic

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<sup>6</sup> Conrad Rudolph, "Introduction: A Sense of Loss: An Overview of the Historiography of Romanesque and Gothic Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.



conquest. In addition to these foreign rulers, the pope ruled the Papal States and Legations, which covered the entire middle third of the peninsula.<sup>8</sup> While national historiographies and institutions of preservation were germinating to the north, the kingdoms and duchies that would soon correspond to the regions of the new Italian nation-state were individually establishing preservation systems and historiographical identities on their own.<sup>9</sup> When Venturi later emphasized the centrality of regional identities within the newly unified Kingdom of Italy, it was part of a strategy to “make Italians” by applying those already-present regional identities to a national one.

## THE ITALIAN OTHER

Italy’s subordination within the budding European art-historical debate was itself part of a larger set of discursive and epistemological circumstances as the European empires established their hegemony over the colonial world. In his foundational text *Orientalism*, Edward Said instilled post-colonial studies with an unshakeable awareness of identity formation in relation to an other: “All kinds of suppositions, associations, and fictions appear to crowd the unfamiliar space outside one’s own.”<sup>10</sup> The Italian literary scholar Roberto Dainotto took Said’s other one step further (or closer, as it were), noting the eighteenth-century establishment of a new logic of European self-identification that reconfigured the identity-generating other:

Europe starts identifying itself not in metonymic terms—through the antithesis of a “far” or “near” orient—but through the interplay of its synecdochic parts—north and south.<sup>11</sup>

In a move that aptly illustrates the epistemological problem for the European south, Dainotto theorized “the close other,” in which the geographical distance of the other is resituated within the simultaneously geographical *and* temporal confines of Europe:

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<sup>8</sup> J. M. Roberts, “Italy, 1793-1830,” in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965; reprint, First edition republished in Cambridge Histories Online, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> These types of acts are collected in: Andrea Emiliani, ed. *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi stati italiani 1571-1860*, Rapporti della Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici per le Province di Bologna Ferrara Forlì e Ravenna (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1996). Emiliani’s work is a republication of work done by the new Ministry of Public Instruction in the early years of the Italian nation-state, self-consciously attempting to synthesize these precedents.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978; repr., Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Edition. New York: Vintage, 2003), 54.

<sup>11</sup> Roberto M. Dainotto, “A South with a View: Europe and Its Other,” *Nepantla: Views from South* 1, no. 2 (2000): 378-9.

What Orientalism with its exotic pyramids could not, in itself, anticipate was the way in which hegemonic Europe could find in the south not an exotic other, but a *fragment*, an *archeological remnant*, of its own past—a discourse perfectly systematized in the very invention of the archeological museum (emphasis mine).<sup>12</sup>

Dainotto crystallized the “southern question,” asking “what are the complexities of an epistemologically colonized part of colonizing Europe?”<sup>13</sup> He easily located instances of eighteenth-century philosophers drawing *kunstwollen*-like distinctions between the north (freedom, virtue, sincerity, frankness) and the south (laziness, subjection, vice, immorality, passion, crime, advantage-taking). In particular, in Montesquieu’s 1748 *Spirit of the Law*, he cited the author’s identification of “the past” in Southern Europe—specifically Rome. Said had already explicitly linked the historical and the geographical to explain the power of the other: “For there is not doubt that imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away.”<sup>14</sup> Dainotto remapped Said’s theory onto the geography of Europe where, “France domesticates its other as its past...Chronology and teleology are thus translated into spatial terms.”<sup>15</sup>

From the spatial othering of Italy as the bearer of Europe’s Roman past and the spatial rendering of culture in general, it is easy to see how medieval origins became linked with nationalism in individual European countries. The Classical past had a specific geographic location (or spatial chronology) in Rome, so a Roman aqueduct in France was always a Roman artifact. Medieval art and architecture, in contrast, still represented the past but were viewed as locally conceived. While Classical art and architecture was understood as *Europe’s* past, the material production of the Middle Ages was claimed for individual national pasts. The fact that the first extensive histories of medieval architecture were written during the period of nation-formation reified the field’s nationalistic overtones. The lack of names of medieval artists or records of their commissions and lives made their work susceptible to an art history of the collective national past.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 379-80.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 381.

<sup>14</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 55.

<sup>15</sup> Dainotto, “South with a View,” 384.

Dainotto's epistemological critique creates a useful frame for reading Rudolph's intellectual history, which, despite the prominence given to Vasari for founding art history, offers no summary of Italian scholarship of the Middle Ages. Moreover, Rudolph's examples of the first chairs in art history, established in the nineteenth century, were German scholars of Italian art. Italy's delegitimization by subjection by northern—and worse, papal—political authority, had many lasting effects, from its exclusion from the mid-nineteenth-century battles between France, England, and Germany over the invention of Gothic to the exclusion of its intellectual contribution in a 2006 “Overview of the Historiography of Romanesque and Gothic Art.”

## Nineteenth-Century Origin Stories

It is within Venturi's nationalism-through-regionalism promotion, as well as Italy's epistemological colonization by northern scholars, that San Francesco's early historiography should be interpreted. Two important categorical frames for San Francesco were born in this discursive setting: the synecdochic typologies of ground plans and stylistic details invented for medieval architecture in general and mendicant architecture in particular, and the exceptionalism of mendicant architecture in what has been continually characterized as an otherwise underperforming Italian medieval architecture. These frames, themselves the product of that discourse, have stayed with the historiography of San Francesco to its most recent scholarship.

## THODE: ORIGIN OF NATIONALIST SYNECDOCHIC TYPOLOGIES

The first frame is characteristic of much of the scholarship on medieval material production from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Scholars traced genealogies of individual forms and plan types, searching locally and abroad for precedents of attributes ranging from stylistic minutiae to ground plans. These scholars have regularized medieval forms to fit neatly into taxonomies, dissecting them with ever-increasing degrees of specificity. The plan typologies, molding profiles, and photographic details scholars have reproduced establish a language and a field of expertise over the genealogical map of medieval church body parts. Figures such as Giovanni Morelli and Bernard Berenson

perfected these practices in their science of connoisseurship, basing their attributions on their expertise.<sup>16</sup>

German scholar Henry Thode's 1885 text on the art and architecture of the Franciscan order, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, established the typological discourse that defines San Francesco in Piacenza and Italian mendicant architecture in general to the present day. Born in Dresden in 1857, Thode studied at Leipzig, Vienna, Berlin, and Munich, and wrote his *Habilitationschrift* in 1886 at the University of Bonn.<sup>17</sup> He categorized mendicant churches into formal groups based on observed differences between building "types."<sup>18</sup> Thode saw the church of San Francesco in Bologna and the other vaulted Italian mendicant churches as the fulfillment of Cistercian ideals and the literal bearers of French Gothic style to Italy.<sup>19</sup> He insisted San Francesco in Bologna was, without doubt, the result of "foreign influence," citing the choir system with radiating chapels similar to those found in French architecture. Relying on familiar genealogies, he reasoned that when the plan type appeared outside France, it was borrowed whence it had developed originally and organically out of Romanesque architecture. Using Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionary as his source for French buildings, Thode traced Bologna's references to "ideal" Cistercian churches at Clairvaux and Pontigny to illustrate that the mendicants were the heirs to the Cistercians.<sup>20</sup> He described the "path of influences" to Italian mendicant buildings as a "new and interesting proof of artistic evolution," demonstrating that "art is also subject to the eternal laws of organic development."<sup>21</sup> Thode's discussion of the "Cathedral model" type then moved from San Francesco in Bologna to its filial churches, which include, in his estimation, the Basilica of Sant'Antonio in Padua, the grand civic monument of San Petronio in Bologna, and San Francesco in Piacenza.

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<sup>16</sup> Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Painters* (London, 1893); Rudolph, "Introduction: A Sense of Loss," 28.

<sup>17</sup> "Henry Thode," Dictionary of Art Historians, <http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/thodeh.htm>

<sup>18</sup> Henry Thode, *Francesco d'Assisi e le origini dell'arte del Rinascimento in Italia*, trans. Rossella Zeni (Rome: Donzelli, 1993), 241.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 268.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 281.

In Thode's consideration of Piacenza's relationship to Bologna, he identified similarities in their "partition of space," the height of their naves, and their choir windows.<sup>22</sup> However, he argued that, in Piacenza, the architects had not rendered the ambulatory and radiating chapels "properly" by constructing them in an almost straight line behind the choir. He acknowledged the church's spatial limitations, but he described the result as a failure. Noting additional similarities with Venetian churches in its vaults and windows, he ultimately characterized San Francesco in Piacenza as a stylistic amalgam.<sup>23</sup> He made formal associations between buildings across Lombardy, Emilia, and the Veneto. At the root of his comparisons was always an attachment to an ideal French cathedral—Italian buildings were inevitably failures, never reproducing the type "as it was supposed to be."

## 1888 BOLOGNA: SAN FRANCESCO AS SCHOLASTIC ICONOGRAPHY

If Thode's categorization represents San Francesco's unshakable formal identity, its iconographic significance was sealed in Bologna at the end of the nineteenth century, where leaders of Emilia's new government and cultural institutions were planning a regional exposition for 1888. In search of a theme, they decided to celebrate the medieval foundation of Bologna's university. When the scholar Corrado Ricci hypothesized a possible date of foundation between 1076 and 1090, university officials explicitly chose 1088 so that the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary would coincide with the 1888 exposition.<sup>24</sup> The "foundation" date of 1088 is recognized to this day in the university's promotional materials as well as on its official seal.

The exhibition marked the beginning of Bologna's neo-medieval restorations by Alfonso Rubbiani, who "was charged with translating the identity promotion of the city's communal memory into architecture."<sup>25</sup> Rubbiani's first restoration project in conjunction with the exposition was the isolation and restoration of the tombs of the *glossatori* (medieval scholars) behind the apse of Bologna's church of San Francesco. Count Giovanni Gozzadini, president of the Emilian *Deputazione per la storia patria*, a learned society for the promotion of local culture, proposed that the tombs be restored explicitly to coincide with the exposition,

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 282-3.

<sup>24</sup> Renard, "Architecture et figures identitaires."

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 190.

in order to highlight Bologna's special historical relationship with its university (fig. 123). The city approved Rubbiani's project on January 23, 1887, but the restoration was held up until May 1890 while government offices were relocated from the buildings engulfing the tombs (fig. 122).<sup>26</sup> Rubbiani's complete restoration of the church followed in subsequent years, and he eventually became director of the Opera of San Francesco (the administrative board in charge of the church's physical structure) (fig. 124). As head of the Opera, Rubbiani would have complete creative control over the church's restoration.

These events in Bologna are important for San Francesco in Piacenza for two reasons. Attention to the Bolognese church in 1888 corresponded to a rush of attention to the Piacentine church. Two local scholars published articles about Piacenza's San Francesco that year, and architects finally began a long-debated project of structural reinforcement.<sup>27</sup> While the circumstance of Piacenza's association with Bologna contributed to the church's profile in the short term, it also distinctly altered its historiographical significance in the long term. The restoration of the tombs of the glossatori for the 1888 exposition permanently linked the Franciscan churches in Bologna, and by extension, Piacenza, to the historic medieval university. That link has been continually reinforced both in the building's architectural history and in Franciscan architectural history up to the present day.

## Medieval Architecture as Symbolic Form: Residue of the Nationalist Signifier in Architectural Historiography, Philosophy & Popular Culture

An investigation into the afterlives of these nineteenth-century origin myths reveals that the historiography of San Francesco in Piacenza has wider implications for the study of mendicant architecture and medieval aesthetic and material practices in general. The residue of nationalism-inflected meaning on medieval forms persists in two resilient strains: the reification of medieval forms as symbolically significant and the reinforcement of the medieval as cultural other. At the same time, as some of the nationalistic values expressed through synecdochic typology and symbolic iconography have lost credibility, twentieth-

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Camillo Guidotti, "La chiesa di S. Francesco," *Strenna Piacentina* (1899); Giuseppe Nasalli, "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza," *ibid.* 14 (1888).

century scholars have readily adapted the significance of medieval forms to suit contemporary trends. In the second half of the twentieth century, the meanings of “medieval” multiplied.

Prior to its reclamation in the nineteenth century, medieval art had signified the dark before the light of the Renaissance, barbarism, and the antithesis of rationality. Those meanings eventually crept back into the symbolic catalog of medieval forms, having never really left in the first place, because the definition of the present in relation to a medieval past reinforced the otherness of that past. The nationalists tried to recast that otherness as the past of a national culture with set traditions and an aura of authenticity distinct from the murky present. The benign otherness of the medieval past, still shrouded in mystery, allowed for the creative interpretation of its artifacts. One step closer than the Roman past, the Middle Ages was an “Italian” past but still removed enough to constitute an other. The presence of Barbarians and Arabs contributed intrigue and danger and further distinguished the medieval from the present. The medieval sign, though easily employed to signify, began with an already-charged meaning. As the cultural historian Benedict Anderson argued, “nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being.”<sup>28</sup>

Having already come to signify nationalistic ideals, medieval forms remained receptive to new meanings. The modern practice of applying meaning had reified the notion that medieval people had done the same. The earlier disparagement of medieval art invited its reinterpretation, and that reinterpretation institutionalized the symbolic weight of medieval forms. In other words, the practice of assigning significance to medieval objects reified a medieval propensity to be symbolic. Moderns believe medievals to be deeply symbolic beings whose artifacts we disproportionately infuse with iconographic and symbolic meaning.

The use of the medieval as both empty signifier and cultural other are thus interrelated, and each quality continues to function in the art-historical categories of

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<sup>28</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991 [1983]), 12.

iconography and aesthetic theory. The scholarship of several recent Italian scholars demonstrate these tendencies with regard to both San Francesco in Piacenza specifically and mendicant architecture more generally. These trends also extend into the sociology of epistemology and theories of historical spatiality, which inevitably feed back into disciplines explicitly prioritizing medieval production and subjects. In all cases, creative iconographic and symbolic exegesis remains the primary mode of explaining medieval aesthetics. However, the symbolic functions of architecture that scholars have assigned to the Middle Ages relate more closely to nineteenth- and twentieth-century modes than to medieval ones.

### THE PERSISTENCE OF NATIONALISTIC TYPOLOGIES & ICONOGRAPHY OF MENDICANT SCHOLASTICISM IN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

At a 1981 international conference entitled “History and Culture in Padua in the Age of Saint Anthony,” La Sapienza scholar Antonio Cadei presented a paper on four Italian Franciscan churches with ambulatories and radiating chapels. The Institute for Paduan Ecclesiastical History published the conference proceedings in 1985. Cadei’s essay grouped the four Franciscan churches in Bologna, Padua, Piacenza, and Naples, all of which possess these unusual plans. He explained the plan typology in the four churches through function and patron identity, citing contextual circumstances as motivation for the quotation of earlier churches. He identified two major strains of the ambulatory-and-radiating-chapel type of mendicant church: one associated with French royal patronage, the other with the adoration of relics.<sup>29</sup> Padua’s Franciscan church housed the tomb of Saint Anthony, a draw for significant crowds of pilgrims.<sup>30</sup> An ambulatory there made sense to Cadei as a quotation of the churches along Europe’s major pilgrimage routes in France and Spain. He explained San Lorenzo in Naples, another Franciscan example of an Italian church with an ambulatory and radiating chapels, as the result of the patronage of Blanche of Castille, calling it “an almost brutal intrusion of dynastic patronage on the custom of Franciscan architecture.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Cadei, “Cori francescani ad ambulacro e cappelle radiali,” 475.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 474.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 475.



Cadei could not use these familiar iconographical models to explain the plan's appearance at San Francesco in Bologna, which is dated between 1236 and 1263, earlier than either Padua or Naples.<sup>32</sup> Instead, he found the answer in the friars' operation of a *studium*.<sup>33</sup> On the assumption that Cathedral schools were the *academic* models for mendicant *studia*, Cadei argued that the Bolognese Franciscans employed the *architectonic* model of the French cathedral in the same way that Sant'Antonio employed the model of pilgrimage churches and San Lorenzo employed a model from among previous examples of Blanche of Castille's patronage. Cadei argued that, in competition with the Dominican studium and the civic studium of Bologna, Franciscan identity would naturally find expression in the architecture of their church.<sup>34</sup> He thus put an explanation behind Thode's 100-year-old link between the French cathedrals and Bologna. As Cadei argued, with the order's architectural restrictions abating, the choir and radiating chapels would have been a deliberate demonstration not of the embodiment of poverty in unadorned forms, as was the more commonly observed characteristic of mendicant architecture at Cadei's time, but of the "quintessential cathedral form of western sacred architecture."<sup>35</sup>

Like Thode, Cadei examined the architecture of Cistercian convents and French cathedrals as possible references for Bologna. Comparing minutiae in the design of the choir articulation, he identified parallels with early Gothic experimentation in Notre-Dame in Paris, Laon, and Bourges.<sup>36</sup> He found precedents for the capitals in Burgundian proto-Gothic and Cistercian churches both in Southern Italy and nearby at Chiaravalle della Colomba.<sup>37</sup> He traced Bologna's sexpartite vaults with alternating supports to Piacenza's Duomo, which had in turn inherited them through the genealogical lineage of Chiaravalle della Colomba, Cistercian buildings in southern Italy, and ultimately Burgundy.<sup>38</sup> He linked the sections of the building to discrete stylistic influences, the ambulatory reflecting an "exclusive dependence on local forms," the inner choir an almost "exclusive dependence on transalpine

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<sup>32</sup> Cadei's dates come from the work of the nineteenth-century restorer, Alfonso Rubbiani.

<sup>33</sup> Cadei, "Cori francescani ad ambulacro e cappelle radiali," 481.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 500.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 489.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 489-90.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 491.

forms,” and the nave a synthesis of local tradition and transalpine influence that resulted in the creation of new forms.<sup>39</sup>

The specificity of Cadei’s references distinguished his typological reading from Thode’s archetypal examples of Clairvaux and Pontigny. Rather than relying on an ideal Cistercian architecture or “Kathedraltypus,” Cadei reasoned that the architects at Bologna imported “individual structural and stylistic elements.”<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, Cadei’s description of the exterior of Bologna’s choir as the “dichotomy between the base idea...and the means and forms of its realization” maintains Thode’s platonic logic.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the documentary evidence of a Franciscan architect in Bologna:

offered a precise reason for the way stylistic and typological suggestions coming from preceding architecture, both Lombard and across the Alps, get remodeled in a complex new form that would be harmonious with the more typical characteristics of mendicant architecture.<sup>42</sup>

Cadei suggested that the Franciscans explicitly sought out “significance-bearing forms” from the Ile-de-France and adapted them to regional tastes, consequently pushing Gothic into northern Italy.<sup>43</sup>

Like Thode, Cadei was dismissive of Piacenza’s San Francesco.<sup>44</sup> Although the Piacentine Franciscans also ran a *studium*, he reasoned that once the ambulatory-radiating chapel form had been employed at Bologna and Padua, its use in Piacenza was simply an arbitrary choice among available plan types, an insignificant imitation. Other Bolognese churches, including the thirteenth-century choir of San Martino, the fourteenth-century Santa Maria dei Servi, and parts of San Petronio, fell into the same genealogical category. For Cadei, the church in Piacenza, like the church in Bologna, embodied a translation of a typological scheme into local language. He dated the cylindrical piers in the nave to the earliest building phase because of their similarity to those at the Dominican church of San Giovanni in Canale and the Cathedral—local lineage signified early construction. He emphasized San Francesco’s relationship with the Dominican church, indicating their use of

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 492.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 490.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 487.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 484.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 495.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 498.

octagonal piers to demarcate the friars' zone from the lay, reinforced in the Dominican version through vaulted and unvaulted areas.<sup>45</sup> Like Thode's "amalgam of styles," Cadei defined San Francesco in Piacenza as a "programmatic adaptation to a local architectonic context on the ill-defined border between Lombardy and Emilia."<sup>46</sup> In other words, San Francesco's provincial architecture embodied Piacenza's provincial geography.

In his 1984 dissertation, *Ordines Studentes*, the German historian of mendicant architecture, Wolfgang Schenkluhn, expanded Cadei's thesis about the Franciscan studium.<sup>47</sup> He argued that mendicant churches in university cities "reflect in idiosyncratic ways their novel status in the landscape of orders: as regular and intellectual...and able to speak articulately about contemporary issues...These churches set decisive points for mendicant architecture across the board."<sup>48</sup> Schenkluhn insisted that the poverty of the orders had been disproportionately emphasized. Rather than accepting the ambulatory and radiating chapel plan as an anomalous type, Schenkluhn argued that this plan exemplified the social and cultural context of the scholastic environment in Paris and Bologna: the churches were representative of mendicant exceptionalism.

Schenkluhn's cursory treatment of San Francesco in Piacenza, like Cadei's and Thode's, focused exclusively on the relationship of the church's architectonic forms to San Francesco in Bologna.<sup>49</sup> Schenkluhn concluded that Piacenza's Franciscan church adapted Bologna's architectural language, while omitting its references to the churches of Notre-Dame in Paris and the Cistercian church at Clairvaux. Bologna had become the referent for the three-aisled nave, non-projecting transept, and ambulatory with radiating chapels. Schenkluhn argued that the Piacentine builders of San Francesco utilized additional local elements found at the Cathedral and San Giovanni in Canale.<sup>50</sup> Schenkluhn echoed Cadei's argument that, contrary to the innovation at Bologna, by the time San Francesco in Piacenza

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 500.

<sup>47</sup> Schenkluhn, *Ordines studentes: Aspekte zur Kirchenarchitektur der Dominikaner und Franziskaner im 13. Jahrhundert*, 8.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

was built, the ambulatory and radiating chapel plan type had become a common option in Franciscan architectural language.

Like Thode, Cadei and Schenkluhn reduced Franciscan buildings and their parts to synecdochic signifiers of the scholastic Middle Ages. The mendicant exceptionalism displayed by the churches of Bologna and Padua was never extended to Piacenza, which served merely to demonstrate the Ur-building's influence. Furthermore, these exceptions proved the rule that Italian architecture was inferior to its northern counterparts.

### THE MALLEABILITY OF MEANING IN MENDICANT ARCHITECTURAL AESTHETIC: PRESTIGE OR POVERTY

On the other hand, recent scholars have frequently deployed mendicant architecture as the epitome of the aesthetic of poverty. The Italian scholar of mendicant architecture Renato Bonelli was critical of the way formalism reduced architecture to:

organic typologies of the church buildings, according to strictly philological criteria based on a tenacious and constant recourse to all possible comparisons, usually functioning off their plan types and vault systems.<sup>51</sup>

He rejected such oversimplification, arguing that buildings with similar plan-types were not interchangeable. Bonelli posited that the sparse, barn-like spaces of mendicant churches took on an aesthetic value of their own. Despite his disavowal of earlier formalisms, his aesthetic of poverty recalls Thode's appeals to Saint Francis's religiosity and hagiography to explain the order's buildings.<sup>52</sup> Bonelli's explanation of mendicant ideals manifested in their buildings resembles a *zeitgeist*, *kunstwollen*, or *habitus*:

Since, for medieval man, every act or object constituted the symbol of another entity, architecture was considered a function of the supernatural relationship between the transcendent cosmos and the work, to locate in it the ethical and ontological conceptuality of the divine.<sup>53</sup>

Bonelli replaced an oversimplification of aesthetic value with an oversimplification of aesthetic intent, relying on the empty medieval signifier to embody the divine.

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<sup>51</sup> Renato Bonelli, "Introduzione," in *Francesco d'Assisi*, 3 vols., vol. 2, Chiese e Conventi (Milan: Electa, 1982), 8.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.; "L'insediamento francescano. Legislazione, cronologia, linguaggio, poetiche," *Storia della Città* 26/27, I francescani in Emilia. Atti del Convegno di Piacenza, 17/19 febbraio 1983 (1983); Angiola Maria Romanini, "L'architettura dei primi insediamenti francescani," *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Bonelli, "Introduzione," 8.

Common to modern discussions about medieval art, the application of philosophical ideals to building practices is particularly complex with regard to Franciscan buildings. While Francis's strict rules regarding architecture were imposed on the order's earliest projects, including the rehabilitation of the old churches of the Porziuncula and San Damiano in Assisi, those prescriptions explicitly prohibited the construction of large churches. Bonelli argued that the philosophical struggle between ideal and reality manifested itself as "an attempt to reconcile two conflicting necessities: the rules of the orders and the very real needs of the conventual community and their patrons."<sup>54</sup> He reasoned that the regulations of the 1260 Franciscan Council at Narbonne legitimized already-existing changes in the order, resulting in a "new poetics of space."<sup>55</sup> Bonelli's logic was that ex-post-facto legislation responded to already existing buildings and successfully impacted subsequent church construction. He concluded that this tension should dictate contemporary interpretation of these churches' medieval aesthetic reception.<sup>56</sup> However, another scholar of the history of mendicant architecture, Gabriella Villetti, has shown that the rules were not always followed.<sup>57</sup> Franciscan churches continued to grow larger after the Narbonne Constitutions. The hierarchy of the order struggled to contain practices over which it maintained little control. Despite his desire to eliminate simplification, Bonelli remained tied to traditional notions of the simplicity of mendicant architecture and its significance. Rather than a tension between Franciscan ideals and practices, the more palpable tension is the one between historians who see the order's prestige represented in its architecture and those who see it in its poverty.

## THE MALLEABILITY OF SYMBOLIC GEOMETRY: SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY OR RENAISSANCE HUMANISM

Recalling the double meaning of mendicant architecture to signify either prestige or poverty, San Francesco's "symbolic geometry" can be equally evocative of scholastic theology or Renaissance humanism. The rationality of medieval geometry prefiguring the Renaissance has been particularly useful for teleological studies like Thode's or textbooks that rely on a

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<sup>54</sup> "L'insediamento francescano," 18.

<sup>55</sup> "Introduzione," 7.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>57</sup> Gabriella Villetti, "Legislazione e prassi edilizia degli ordini mendicanti nei secoli XIII e XIV," *ibid.*

simple narrative for a broad subject.<sup>58</sup> The rational geometry of medieval buildings has also been deployed to make medieval urban space into proto-Renaissance space, reacting to a self-fulfilling prophecy about the “sidelining” of the medieval for its non-classicism.<sup>59</sup> The absurdity of the possibilities implicated in the assignment of meaning to medieval forms is illustrated by the ubiquitous iconographical link between Franciscan building practices and theology through the modular “ascendere ad quadratum.” The trope is invoked in two opposing arguments about medieval aesthetics and spatiality, sometimes by the same authors. In the first, the rationality exhibited in the geometric patterns of Franciscan buildings suggest their proto-Renaissance qualities. In the second, modules are abstractions of medieval scholastic theology of the beautiful: definitively un-modern and anti-Renaissance. The same geometry in the same buildings exposes both a characteristically medieval philosophical perspective as well as a Renaissance humanist one. These buildings must be very tired.

The teleology invented by Henry Thode began with the Cistercian order, leading to the reformist religiosity of Saint Francis, the importation of Gothic architecture to Italy, and ultimately, the Renaissance.<sup>60</sup> Thode identified the mendicants as the heirs of the Cistercians socially and architecturally. Socially, the Cistercians served as intermediaries between the older aristocratic Benedictine orders and the eventual “democratization” of the mendicants.<sup>61</sup> The Franciscans played out their heritage architecturally by adopting the style of Cistercian buildings. Thode argued that mendicant buildings, located in cities, had a more lasting “influence” than the Cistercians, who had maintained a more traditional, isolated monastic lifestyle.<sup>62</sup> Thode identified greater individuality in mendicant buildings than in Cistercian architecture, which he saw as possessing more unified “formal principles of construction.”

Italian scholar and architect Marcello Spigaroli has intently studied geometry’s potential meanings for San Francesco and the city of Piacenza more generally, drawing

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<sup>58</sup> White, *Art and Architecture*, 184.

<sup>59</sup> Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 214-223.

<sup>60</sup> Thode, *Francesco d'Assisi e le origini dell'arte del Rinascimento in Italia*, 240.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

shapes on top of the plans of several of Piacenza's mendicant churches.<sup>63</sup> Spigaroli defined a thirteenth-century aesthetic of proportionality based in the theology of Robert Grosseteste, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas, who described beauty as the harmony and perfect proportion of parts of the whole.<sup>64</sup> Spigaroli defined this harmony in proportions as the dominant aesthetic of the late thirteenth century. Additionally, Spigaroli assigned significance to the church's location within the city, specifically its placement in the center of a line of mendicant convents running tangentially to the communal palace, drawing on Enrico Guidoni's urban theory in which mendicant buildings caused the geometric reordering of medieval Italian cities.<sup>65</sup> To Guidoni's argument, Spigaroli added that geometry contained within the churches produced those urban geometries: "As a consequence of the emerging architectural forms (the mendicant churches and the Palazzo Pubblico), there followed a strong emphasis on the unity and the centeredness of the *forma urbis*."<sup>66</sup> Spigaroli placed San Francesco's modular proportions at the literal center of a geometric reconfiguration of the city.

Giovanna Valenzano, professor of medieval art and architecture at the University of Padua, has written a few brief essays about San Francesco in Piacenza. She observed that similarities with Piacenza's Cathedral suggest the labor of local masters who carried out a Franciscan plan.<sup>67</sup> Her argument that the plan was Franciscan stemmed from the proportional relationships between the ground plan and the module of the square of the nave bays.<sup>68</sup> She further argued that the Piacentine Franciscans had a particular interest in Albertus Magnus's writings on the harmony of proportions, demonstrated by Piacentine Gabriele Stornaloco's fourteenth-century work on the Duomo of Milan. The method "ascendere ad quadratum" utilized at San Francesco in Piacenza was common in Milanese

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<sup>63</sup> Marcello Spigaroli, "Pulchritudo sive proportio. Architecture and Mathematics in the Gothic of the Mendicants," *Nexus Network Journal* 1 (1999).

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>65</sup> "Tempio francescano, palazzo pubblico, piazza della città: Piacenza alla fine del XIII secolo," *Storia della Città* 26/27, I francescani in Emilia. Atti del Convegno di Piacenza, 17/19 febbraio 1983 (1983); "Pulchritudo."

<sup>66</sup> "Pulchritudo," 108.

<sup>67</sup> Giovanna Valenzano, "La chiesa di San Francesco di Piacenza: una traccia per la costruzione edilizia," in *La Basilica di San Francesco in Piacenza: tra storia, cultura, arte e spiritualità nel suo 720° di fondazione*, ed. Ferdinando Arisi and Giuseppe Boiardi (Parma: La Pilotta Editrice, 1998), 178.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 180.

churches and differed from the module used in Bologna. Rather than indicate the presence of a Franciscan studium, in Valenzano's iteration the building's unique plan was designed to set the church apart from the preceding constructive tradition in Piacenza, specifically the Dominican church of San Giovanni in Canale.<sup>69</sup>

While her emphasis on construction flipped the emphasis of most scholars on the church's relationship with Bologna, she did not neglect the similarities between the two churches, noting the function of optical effects in the ambulatory at Piacenza.<sup>70</sup> She rejected the idea that the two could have had the same workshop due to the differences in their construction and dimensional modules.<sup>71</sup> Valenzano also called Piacenza a "second- or third-hand Frenchism," in reference to the quotations made on the elevation of the nave wall above the arcade in the three levels of triforium, lancet windows, and oculus.<sup>72</sup> Valenzano speculated that the Franciscans could have made the reference as thanks for their protection by Louis IX or Charles of Anjou. Alternatively, she wondered if Piacenza's political authorities could have been responsible, citing the frequent relations between French and Piacentine merchants. However, establishing stylistic difference from the French context, the wall at Piacenza did not lose any of its "wallness," which was instead exaggerated by the thickness of the window profiles.<sup>73</sup>

In these passages, Valenzano applied the well-established iconographical models utilized by scholars of the churches in Padua and Bologna to the church in Piacenza. In addition to her subtle replication of traditional formal and iconographical historiographical practices, Valenzano's invocation of "ascendere ad quadratum" to explain the building's construction exposes the most pervasive of the underlying practices of not only medieval architectural history, but also popular and theoretical notions of "the medieval." While admitting that geometry was necessary for laying out a building's dimensions, the English scholar Eric Fernie cautioned that investigations into medieval architectural geometries are best kept to measurements of actual building parts rather than shapes drawn on top of

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>72</sup> "Architettura gotica a Piacenza," in *Il Gotico a Piacenza: Maestri e botteghe tra Emilia e Lombardia*, ed. Paola Ceschi Lavagetto and Antonella Gigli (Geneva-Milano: Skira, 1998), 30.

<sup>73</sup> "La chiesa di San Francesco di Piacenza: una traccia per la costruzione edilizia," 186.



them.<sup>74</sup> These methodological differences, frequently drawn along national boundaries, are as old as the discipline itself. The condescension in Fernie's argument recalls northern condescension of Italian architecture in the historiography of the Middle Ages and in the nineteenth-century debates over restoration theories.

## MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE AS HABITUS

The resulting problem is two-fold: on the one hand, the marginalization of Italy, explained by Dainotto and evident from nineteenth-century historiography, and on the other, the broader question of the function of "the medieval" within humanistic disciplines. If Italian medieval architecture has been subjugated within Europe-wide historiography, it was doubly so, since the "medieval" itself represents a category all too frequently employed as a foil to modernity along with the "primitive" and the "oriental."

The tendency to symbolically invoke medieval materiality pervades many disciplines and methodologies. The Italian Marxist Giulio Carlo Argan claimed that the moral guide of Thomas Aquinas applied not only to the allegorical significance of Gothic architecture but also to its constructive technology.<sup>75</sup> In a 1987 review of Umberto Eco's *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, Michael Camille critiqued Eco's use of scholastic and theological notions of beauty to explain artistic practice, accusing him of neglecting the artist while taking "scholastic arguments about beauty and applying them to the forms of Gothic cathedrals."<sup>76</sup> Camille related that tendency explicitly to Erwin Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*. While Eco concluded that medievals "lacked a theory of the fine arts," Camille recommended medieval texts about art as more fruitful hunting grounds than scholastic theology for answers about medieval aesthetic sense.

Camille's critique of the theoretical move made by Eco and Panofsky exposes a central problem with the modern conception of medieval aesthetics, epistemologies, and

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<sup>74</sup> Eric Fernie, "A Beginner's Guide to the Study of Architectural Proportions and Length," in *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, ed. Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley (London: Hambledon Press, 1990).

<sup>75</sup> Giulio Carlo Argan, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Florence: Sansoni, 1968).

<sup>76</sup> Michael Camille, review of *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* by Umberto Eco; Hugh Bredin, *The Burlington Magazine* 129, no. 1007 (Feb., 1987) (1987).

spatialities as pure *zeitgeist*. In a 2008 translation of one of Panofsky's early theoretical texts, Katherina Lorenz and Jas Elsner succinctly described Panofsky's version of *Kunstwollen* as

not a cultural (let alone collective or psychological) drive that gives rise to artistic production, but a metempirical and effectively abstract level of meaning embedded in the art of any given person or period whose elucidation is the ultimate aim of a science of art, understood as the combination of historical and theoretical approaches to images.<sup>77</sup>

While Panofsky's centrality to the discipline of art history is commonly known, his unique impact on medieval spatial theory has been less thoroughly dissected.<sup>78</sup> The ability of the medieval to signify was a very attractive concept in 1960s cultural theory, and Panofsky's text was a key agent in transferring the practice of meaning production to cultural theorists.

In 1967, Bourdieu translated Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* into French, appending a postface containing his earliest exploration of the *habitus*, which was to "become his central theoretical category for relating human subjects to the forces, histories, and structures that determine their forms of life and thought."<sup>79</sup> Bourdieu's *habitus* came out of a period in which he was reading not only *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* but also other fundamental texts by Panofsky as well as the critiques of Panofsky's interlocutors.<sup>80</sup> As Bruce Holsinger has demonstrated, however, by the time of his 1972 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu had disavowed much of Panofsky's input for the *habitus*, "reduc[ing him] to a whipping-boy for art-worshipping empiricism."<sup>81</sup>

Another French philosopher, Henri Lefebvre, wrote *The Production of Space* in 1974, utilizing the same Panofskian text to deal with medieval historical spaces.<sup>82</sup> Lefebvre's theorization of medieval art as representative of its spatial production recalls the twentieth-century German iconographic theories based on observations about formal qualities.<sup>83</sup> Lefebvre fused architectural and urban studies—buildings, as the only remaining traces of

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<sup>77</sup> Katharina Lorenz and Jas Elsner, "'On the Relationship of Art History and Art Theory': Translators' Introduction," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 1 (2008).

<sup>78</sup> Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

<sup>79</sup> Bruce Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 95-96. That Holsinger appends a translation of Bourdieu's postface to his book on French critical theory and the Middle Ages offers a tidy symmetry.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 97. Bourdieu cites reviews by Grodecki, Gall, Bony, and Branner, as well as work by Sedlmayr, Mâle, and others.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>82</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 258.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

earlier urban configurations, were clues to medieval spatial practices. Lefebvre considered buildings and the art within them as part of a vast system comprising the medieval city, even the medieval world: whole buildings were reduced to the functionality of one of Panofsky's crockets in a Gothic cathedral. Lefebvre assigned agency over the production of forms to the economic motors driving the events of history. Whereas the early centuries of Christianity produced "cryptic" subterranean spaces, the Gothic cathedrals inverted that subterraneity into great heights.<sup>84</sup> Where painted surfaces reigned in crypts, sculpture broke through the surface into the new space like the resurrection of the body.<sup>85</sup>

Lefebvre went even further, assimilating Panofsky's exegesis of Gothic forms into his construction of a historical medieval mindset and spatiality, despite his critique of Panofsky for isolating the production of forms from their context.<sup>86</sup> While he criticized Panofsky for being reductionist, Lefebvre merely expanded the field being reduced. He clarified his critique: "the point is, though, that this goes far beyond Gothic architecture and involves the towns, political action, poetry and music, and thought in general."<sup>87</sup> Lefebvre's disavowal of Panofsky is like Bourdieu's post-structuralist reaction to Panofsky's flippant structuralism: both retained more of his theory than they relinquished.

In 1967, the same year of Bourdieu's translation, Michel Foucault gave the lecture that would eventually be published as "Des espaces autres" in 1984, in which he, too, relied on contrasts between medieval and modern spaces.<sup>88</sup> Foucault historicized medieval space in substantially different ways than Lefebvre, however, addressing the ways in which ideas revolutionized conceptions of space. He contrasted contemporary space, which he termed "relational" among sites, with the medieval concreteness of emplacement and compared the explosion of that emplacement with the impact of Galileo opening up infinite space.<sup>89</sup> His discussion of cemeteries' evolution described the very real cultural shift from a geographic hierarchy of bodies within and close to the church to a movement outside the city and an

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 260.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 260.

<sup>88</sup> The 1984 text was translated into English in 1986: Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1986). The lecture from March, 1967 also resulted in an article in October of that year, "Les mots et les images."

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 23.

individualization of death.<sup>90</sup> Foucault described the residual sacrality embodied in the inviolable oppositions between public and private, family and social, cultural and useful, leisure and work. He described the fullness of modern space as a “set of relations that delineate sites.”

Foucault fell into some of the same traps as Lefebvre and Bourdieu: in his invocation of “primitive societies” to explain how crisis heterotopias functioned differently than heterotopias of deviation or in his example of the “deep superimposed meanings of the Oriental garden.” While Foucault’s historically sensitive mind prevented him from historical oversimplification, he instead relied on primitive and Oriental foils to modernity. Foucault was generally sensitive to the construction of an other through power relations. In her book *Getting Medieval*, Carolyn Dinshaw advocated affective historiography and textual criticism for medieval queer history.<sup>91</sup> In a conference panel about her book, Dinshaw drew attention to a question from one of the other panelists: “How do I write about the daily lives of historically situated women without dissolving particularity into some solitary faceless Ordinary Other?”<sup>92</sup> Recalling Foucault’s archival subjects from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Dinshaw mused, “Perhaps they should be returned to obscurity so they are not made victims of the brutalities of power’s operations through our writing.”<sup>93</sup>

## THE CASE STUDY & THE REAPPRAISAL OF MEDIEVAL ART

Locating meaning in a contemporary or proximate cultural context is already subjective, and anthropologists have often critiqued frivolous applications of preconceived ideas and exoticization of other cultures. The temporal distance from historical cultural production is as important a consideration as geographic or other kinds of cultural distance. The paucity of medieval texts about architecture and the pervasive assumptions and fictions about the Middle Ages contribute to the challenges of understanding medieval epistemologies of spatial form. Medieval studies risk the same reductive “othering” critiqued

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>91</sup> Carolyn Dinshaw, “Got Medieval?,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10, no. 2 (Apr., 2001): 203.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 204.

in comparative ethnography. The problems with these practices have been compounded by their employment within pseudo-scientific comparative taxonomies.

The nationalist foundations for the revival of medieval art and architecture had implications beyond the restorations of historical monuments. They dictated a series of institutional and epistemological structures still saturated with nationalist rhetoric. The Italian discipline of medieval art history, institutionalized in the nineteenth century, is the primary site where that rhetoric prospers; however, the extra-disciplinary examples above demonstrate a more pervasive survival. The meaning deployed architecturally and spatially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was used to theorize medieval and modern epistemologies and spatialities in the late twentieth century.

Despite these apparent problems, there has been surprisingly little attention to revising ideas about medieval aesthetic reception of formal qualities. The prominent scholar of Italian medieval architecture, Marvin Trachtenberg, offered a redefinition of architectural style in medieval Italy as a tension between modernism (Gothic) and historicism (Romanesque).<sup>94</sup> In addition to this binary opposition, he added that Italian architecture remained distinctively eclectic in its approach to form and style, incorporating elements of both systems to varying degrees. If “Gothic” forms were medieval modernisms, Trachtenberg suggests that in the northern parts of Europe, the style commonly referred to as Romanesque was the result of resistances played out between historicist and modernist tendencies. Pure “Gothic” was the result when modernist tendencies won outright. In Italy, Trachtenberg posited, the defining characteristic of Romanesque architecture was instead a kind of eclecticism, the acceptance of complexity and contradiction:

The source material of its monumental works was open to virtually all directions: the classical past, the wider Mediterranean world of Byzantium and Islam, and vernacular types, as well as the inventions of northern medieval architecture. In other words, Italian architecture in the Gothic period was in method the very antithesis of purist, idealizing French modernism.<sup>95</sup>

Since eclecticism was itself practiced by the Romans, the Romanesque eclecticism practiced in Italy was therefore doubly historicizing.

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<sup>94</sup> Marvin Trachtenberg, "Gothic/Italian 'Gothic': Toward a Redefinition," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50, no. 1 (Mar., 1991): 31.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

In a 2000 essay in the medieval journal *Gesta*, Trachtenberg lamented that scholars had abandoned the quest to define Gothic architecture because they presumed the question was either irrelevant or already solved.<sup>96</sup> He indirectly suggested an alternative explanation for the hesitation to address broad stylistic questions when he addressed the field's recent tendency toward case studies. Avoiding broad histories, he argued, allowed historians to skirt an explicit definition of "Gothic." Many of the works he cited are currently popular foundational texts in the discipline.<sup>97</sup> These "case studies" tend to avoid theoretical speculation in favor of empirical documentary support. If revisionary work remains to be done about the architecture of the Middle Ages, it will be through a historiography that challenges those assumptions at a more fundamental level than simply renaming the same preconceived categories. While Trachtenberg is critical of the "unwieldy and finally self-contradictory interpretive *bricolage* of mainly nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century analytic methods and discourse," he does not go so far as to accept that any attempt to simply redefine "Gothic" is itself rooted in those same analytic methods. Trachtenberg's own later elucidation of the important distinction between the invention of the Albertian architect and the "building-in-time" of medieval production warrants a reappraisal of his own earlier application of the term "modernism."<sup>98</sup>

Instead, I suggest that the studies Trachtenberg cited as having dodged traditional questions constitute a discipline-wide attempt to lay the groundwork in primary research for a reappraisal of the relationships between geographically distant architectural styles. These studies reflect the scholars' reluctance to rely on the stylistic definitions imposed since the

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<sup>96</sup> "Suger's Miracles, Branner's Bourges: Reflections on 'Gothic Architecture' as Medieval Modernism," *Gesta* 39, no. 2, Robert Branner and the Gothic (2000): 183.

<sup>97</sup> Henry Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar: The Economics of Cathedral Building* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979); Barbara Abou-el-Haj, "The Urban Setting for Late Medieval Church Building: Reims and Its Cathedral between 1210 and 1240," *Art History* 11, no. 1 (1988); Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper, eds., *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). To these I would add Jane Welch Williams on Chartres: Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine & Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Lindy Grant's work on Saint-Denis: Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London: Longman, 1998). Stephen Murray on Amiens: Stephen Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). and Caroline Bruzelius on Naples: Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples: Church Building in Angevin Italy, 1266-1343* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

<sup>98</sup> Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

construction of medieval buildings. Indeed, current medieval architectural history often has an uncomfortable tone of (now revisionist) empiricism that renews suspicions of the discipline's conservatism. Consequently, I work to consider primary sources within the circumstances of their production. If scholarship about medieval architecture must rethink abstractions of style, that reconsideration should be grounded in textual evidence that considers historical factors while remaining attentive to the ephemerality of the past and the partiality of the archive.

## The Case Study at Hand

Despite San Francesco's significance to the historiography of medieval architecture, this dissertation is its first monograph within that discipline.<sup>99</sup> Departing from earlier disciplinary traditions, the present study engages several aspects of the church's historiography beyond its medieval construction, including its political, social, economic, urban, and intellectual contexts. It thus operates methodologically not only within the tradition of medieval architectural historiography, but also in dialogue with recent scholarship on the political, economic, and social history of the Middle Ages, specifically scholarship on Italy, the history of urbanism, and Piacenza, with particular attention to primary sources.<sup>100</sup> Traditional methodological considerations, such as the building's style and chronology, are certainly addressed. However, rather than replicate the iconographic and typological studies of the past, this project interrogates their historiographies and institutional contexts.

The broad architectural historiography of this introduction provides the background for more local historiographies, beginning with that of communal Piacenza in chapter one. This section disentangles the history of San Francesco from local legends that have been unquestioningly accepted as fact for centuries. Over time, the more that particular stories

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<sup>99</sup> Two parish priests in the last two centuries have published monographs on the church, one in 1868, and one in 1998. The 1868 monograph figures prominently in the final chapter of this dissertation. The 1998 collection of essays from a variety of disciplinary perspectives includes an essay by Valenzano on the church's architecture. Additional essays address the church's sculptural and pictorial decoration. There are also several essays on other aspects of the church's history.

<sup>100</sup> Philip Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005); Maureen Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

are told and retold, the more authority and acceptance they gain over the building's history. The church's history, important to mendicant, Italian, and Gothic architectural historiographies as well as to medieval urbanism and spatial theory, is the site of many such mythologies. Its place within the long tradition of Piacentine historiography is even more prominent, often inflecting broader traditions.

## THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI PARMA

The archives from San Francesco were probably moved to the Archivio di Stato in Parma in about 1810. The *Fondo Diplomatico* at the Parma archive was created after the Napoleonic suppression of the monasteries on June 9, 1805.<sup>101</sup> Moreau de Saint-Méry was the administrator general of the area that included the former Duchy of Parma and Piacenza (annexed to France in 1808 as the *Département Taro*). Moreau de Saint-Méry made inventories of the suppressed monasteries' archives and moved them to Parma. A scholar of the Archivio di Stato in Parma, Gabriele Nori, has suggested that some archives might have been lost between the decree's issuance in 1805 and its effectuation in 1810. Still more documents were probably lost during their transportation to the Archivio di Stato. He noted a particular lacuna in holdings from the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>102</sup> After that date, few sources have survived from the provinces' monastic institutions. He argued that no documents were preserved from the archives of the Franciscan orders of Parma and Piacenza because Franciscan archives tended not to begin until the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth.<sup>103</sup> Thus, the few Franciscan documents that were preserved are of unknown provenance but are not from the Franciscan archives themselves. Nori noted the exception of the archive of Santa Chiara in Piacenza (the Poor Clares), which had been an earlier home of the Franciscans. For example, a papal inquest of central importance for

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<sup>101</sup> Gabriele Nori, "Il 'diplomatico' dell'archivio di Stato di Parma," in *Guida alla documentazione francescana in Emilia-Romagna. II. Parma e Piacenza*, ed. Giuseppe Plessi (Padua: Centro studi antoniani, 1994), 421.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 422.



San Francesco in Piacenza is indexed only by the designation “*Varie*.” Unlike every other document from the historic *Fondo Diplomatico*, no call number distinguishes it.<sup>104</sup>

A 1994 bibliography of Franciscan sources in Emilia-Romagna, the *Guida alla documentazione francescana in Emilia-Romagna* lists other *fondi* (collections) at the Archivio di Stato in Parma as well as additional archives in Parma, Piacenza, and Bologna with collections or documents regarding the Franciscan convent in Piacenza.<sup>105</sup> The Fondo of the Conventi Soppressi at the Parma Archivio di Stato includes several testamentary bequests from the end of the fourteenth century for San Francesco. Almost all of the documents in Parma are from later periods.

In its introductory paragraphs to the Piacentine Franciscans, the *Guida alla documentazione francescana* lists several dates that are not supported in the documents it indexes or elsewhere. The volume editor, Giuseppe Plessi, suggested that the Franciscans had been documented in Piacenza from 1228, but he did not provide a source. He also suggested that the Franciscans’ first location was dedicated to Santa Chiara and was located on the Stradone Farnese; neither assertion is supported by documentary evidence. Confusion with the Clares’ convent might explain the misattribution—particularly given their overlapping nomenclature. The Clares’ church in the thirteenth century was dedicated to San Francesco, while the Franciscan churches before and after their relocation were dedicated to the Virgin.<sup>106</sup> In 1229, the Bishop and Canons with the consensus of the Franciscans gave the Clares permission to build their convent “in honor of” the Virgin Mary on land next to the city.<sup>107</sup> However, beginning in 1240 and throughout the thirteenth-century documents, the Clarissan convent is referred to consistently as San Francesco.<sup>108</sup> The

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<sup>104</sup> Processo nella causa tra il vescovo di Piacenza e i frati minori di quella città, per avere questi ultimi nel giugno del 1278 cominciata a fabbricare il convento di San Francesco, senza il consentimento di esso vescovo e del capitolo, e con pregiudizio delle vicine parrocchie, 1283. *Diplomatico*. Archivio di Stato, Parma.

<sup>105</sup> Giuseppe Plessi, ed. *Guida alla documentazione francescana in Emilia-Romagna. II. Parma e Piacenza* (Padova: Centro studi antoniani, 1994), 21-28.

<sup>106</sup> Ironically, the documents indexed in the *Guida* support this alternative narrative.

<sup>107</sup> ASPR, *Diplomatico*, Atti Privati, 1460, May 6, 1229

<sup>108</sup> ASPR, *Diplomatico*, Atti Privati, 299, 1756 In the year 1240, called the Clares of San Francesco di Piacenza; ASPR, *Diplomatico*, Atti Privati, Cass. 32, 1905.3: 1245 reference to the church of the monastery of San Francesco of the Order of San Damiano; ASPR, *Diplomatico*, Atti Privati, Cass. 35, Doc. 2129: June 9, 1255: In the choir of the church of San Francesco before the Altar of San Francesco; ASPR, *Diplomatico*, Atti Privati, July 27, 1255, Anagni, Alexander IV exempted the nuns of the

Clares' more extensive archive might also have led to some conflation between the two communities. The editor's final unsupported claim was that the Franciscans did not move to their convent until 1336, which conflicts with information contained in the 1282 papal inquest discussed below.

As noted in Nori's explication of the archives, the sources on the Franciscans are not as plentiful as those on the Clares. Bonifacio Rossano left 100 *soldi piacentini* to the Franciscans in 1237 for repairs to their church of Santa Maria.<sup>109</sup> In 1261, Stefano Stefani also left 100 *lira piacentini* to the Franciscans.<sup>110</sup> In 1275, Iohannes Maxeroldo left 10 *lira piacentini* to the Franciscans.<sup>111</sup> These are the archive's only thirteenth-century references to the Piacentine Franciscans, and all came prior to the land acquisition in the center of the city. Two documents from 1367 and 1387 refer to the *ecclesia fratrum Minorum*; by those dates, the church would have been at its present location. One final document of note from the Parma Archivio di Stato is a plan from the time of Napoleon, when the church had been rededicated to Saint Napoleon.<sup>112</sup> The plan indicates which conventual buildings were intact at that time.

## THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI PIACENZA & OTHER PIACENTINE ARCHIVES

In an essay from the medieval volume in the *Storia di Piacenza* series, Piero Castignoli provided a general introduction to Piacenza's published and unpublished primary sources. Castignoli is also the author of a detailed history of Piacenza's Archivio di Stato in the *Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato italiani*.<sup>113</sup> The *fondo* of religious institutions at Piacenza's Archivio di Stato known as the *Ospizi Civili* contains 26,000 records of private acts alone. Castignoli's students in the 1960s catalogued all wills in the *fondo* that mentioned the

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monastery of San Francesco in Piacenza of the Order of San Damiano from the payment of tithes on their land.

<sup>109</sup> ASPR, Diplomatico, Atti Privati, cass. 28, doc. 1685: April 27, 1237

<sup>110</sup> ASPR, Diplomatico, Atti Privati, cass. 38, 2292: December 30, 1261

<sup>111</sup> ASPR, Diplomatico, Atti Privati, cart. 36, perg. 51

<sup>112</sup> The drawing is described in the *Guida alla documentazione francescana*, on p. 27: "S. Napoleone PP. Conventuali", pianta della chisa e del convent di S. Francesco di Piazza in Piacenza, dopo la soppressione denominato S. Napoleone e creato parrocchia; sec. XIX." ASPR, Mappe disegni, vol. 22, n. 65

<sup>113</sup> Piero Castignoli, "L'archivio di Stato di Piacenza," in *Guida generale degli archivi di Stato italiani*, ed. Piero D'Angiolini and Claudio Pavone (Florence: Le Monnier, 1986).

Consorzio del Spirito Santo in the thirteenth century, making those wills searchable without reading through all 6,399 documents from the thirteenth century. The remainder of the archive can only be accessed by manually perusing the documents contained in individual folders (*cartelle*). The only reference to the Franciscans in the wills indexed by Castignoli's students was the receipt of a testamentary bequest of 10 *lire piacentini* accepted by the Franciscan Guardian Placentinus de Bubiano from the estate of Obertus Curserius in 1275.<sup>114</sup> The same document contained a similar attestation of acceptance of funds by the city's Dominican order. The Dominicans were also cited in the 1231 will of Donna Dolce, who left them 2,000 roof tiles (*tegole*).<sup>115</sup> The city's hospices, such as the Ospedale di Dio, the Eremitani, the Ospedale di San Lazzaro, the Consorzio del Spirito Santo, the Poveri di Cristo, and the Ospedale di San Raimondo were the main beneficiaries of the donations in these wills. The prevalence of references to these institutions corresponds to the goals of the students in choosing which of the *fondo*'s manuscripts to catalog. It may also suggest that patrons of Piacenza's hospitals rarely made bequests to mendicant orders.

An additional obstacle is that most published transcriptions of Piacenza's medieval documents are from periods prior to the thirteenth century. Moreover, the communal archive burned in 1448 during Francesco Sforza's sack of the city, leaving few public records from the medieval period.<sup>116</sup> The only remaining documents are the *Registrum Magnum*, the major acts of the commune, and a compendium of communal statutes, the earliest preserved version of which is from the fourteenth century.<sup>117</sup>

The *Collegium mercatorum* left an archival record of its statutes.<sup>118</sup> Already important in the twelfth century, the college was made up of the city's prosperous merchants and bankers, who, in turn, financed the city's artisanal workshops and guilds, providing capital, organizing sales, and promoting the development of industry. The *Collegium*'s statutes

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<sup>114</sup> ASPC, Ospizi Civili, 1275 September 17, cart. 36, perg. 51

<sup>115</sup> ASPC, Ospizi Civili, 1231 August 4, Osp. Civ. Cart. 14 Perg. 69

<sup>116</sup> Piero Castignoli, "La storiografia e le fonti," in *Storia di Piacenza*, ed. Piero Castignoli, 6 vols., vol. 2, Dal vescovo conte alla signoria (996-1313) (Piacenza: Cassa di Risparmio di Piacenza, 1984), 26.

<sup>117</sup> Ettore Falconi and Roberta Peveri, *Il Registrum Magnum del Comune di Piacenza*, 4 vols. (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1984); Emanuela Fugazza, *Diritto istituzioni e giustizia in un comune dell'Italia padana. Piacenza e i suoi statuti (1135-1323)*, Pubblicazioni della Università di Pavia. Studi nelle scienze giuridiche e sociali. Nuova serie (Padua: CEDAM; Wolters Kluwer Italia Srl, 2009).

<sup>118</sup> Castignoli, "La storiografia," 27.

provide logistical data such as the locations of city markets.<sup>119</sup> The collegio controlled the communal government during the years of construction on the Franciscan church, when the communal palace was also under construction. Their control over the government benefited the private interests of the merchants and bankers.

A number of additional archives and documentary sources conclude the textual history of San Francesco. Chronicles from the thirteenth through the eighteenth century add narrative texture to Piacenza's history.<sup>120</sup> Papal bulls in 1280 and 1289 addressed the Franciscan convent specifically.<sup>121</sup> Finally, the *Fondo Landi* at the Archivio Doria-Pamphilj in Rome preserves the documents of the Stato Landi, a principality in Emilia-Romagna during the Renaissance. Ubertino de Andito (eventually also called Landi by historians, as his family name would soon change) was the landowner whose property in the center of Piacenza was destined to become the new site of the Franciscan convent. The territory he amassed in Piacenza's countryside in the second half of the thirteenth century was the foundation of the

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<sup>119</sup> Piero and Pierre Racine Castignoli, ed. *Corpus Statutorum Mercatorum Placentiae (secoli XIV - XVIII)* (Milan: Dot. A. Giuffrè, 1967).

<sup>120</sup> Piacenza's chronicles are outlined in Bruno Andreolli and Augusto Vasina, *Repertorio della cronachistica emiliano-romagnola (secc. IX-XV)*, Nuovi studi storici (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1991). The medieval chronicles can be found in many useful editions of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. I will list the ones here that I found most useful and/or ubiquitous in the most libraries. The chronicle of Codagnello, which goes up through 1230-1235 is edited in the *MGH: Giovanni Codagnello, "Annales Placentini Guelfi,"* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, vol. 18 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1863). The chronicle of the Anonymous Ghibelline, through 1284, is also in the *MGH: "Annales Placentini Gibellini,"* *ibid.* The early-fourteenth-century chronicle of Guarino is only edited in one volume: Bernardo Pallastrelli, ed. *Chronica Tria Placentina a Iohanne Codagnello ab Anonymo et a Guerino Conscripta*, Monumenta Historica ad provincias parmensem et placentinam pertinentia (M.H.P.P.P.) (Parma: Pietro Fiaccadori, 1859). There are alternate volumes for the first two chronicles found in: and Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Brèholles, ed. *Chronicon placentinus et Chronico de rebus in Italia gestis, historiae stirpis imperatoris Suevorum illustrandae aptissima* (Paris: 1856). Codagnello and the Anonymous Ghibelline are also in the Pallastrelli volume, *Chronica Tria*. Codagnello is also edited individually in Oswaldus Holder-Egger, ed. *Iohannis Codagnelli Annales placentini* (Hannover: Impensis bibliopolii Hahniani, 1901). The fourteenth-century chronicle of Pietro Da Ripalta was edited recently: Pietro Da Ripalta, *Chronica Placentina. Nella trascrizione di Iacopo Mori (MS. Pallastrelli 6)*, Biblioteca Storica Placentina (Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co, 1995). De Musso's fourteenth century chronicle is in the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, edited by Muratori in 1730: "Chronicon placentinum ab anno CCXXII usque ad annum MCCCCII, auctore Iohanne de Mussis cive placentino, nunc primum ex manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Ludovico Muratori, vol. 16 (1730). Unfortunately the volume in question was not part of the twentieth-century reprinting of the RIS. The remaining chronicles I consulted were in printed editions: Umberto Locati, *De Placentinae Urbis Origine, successu, et laudibus* (Cremona: Vincentium Conctum, 1564); Pier Maria Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, 3 vols. (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1651-1662); Cristoforo Poggiali, *Memorie storiche della città di Piacenza*, 12 vols. (Piacenza: Filippo G. Giacomazzi, 1753-1766; repr., Facsimile of the first edition. Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co, 1976.); Vincenzo Boselli, *Delle storie piacentine* (Piacenza: Stamperia Salvoni, 1793; repr., Facsimile of the first edition. Bologna, A. Forni, 1976).

<sup>121</sup> 1280 Bull of Nicolas III: Joseph Sbaraglia, ed. *Bullarium franciscanum romanorum pontificum constitutiones, epistolas ac diplomata continens tribus ordinibus...a...sancto Francisco institutis concessa...studio et labore Fr. Joannis Hyacinthi Sberaleae*, 8 vols., vol. 3 (Rome: Typis S. Congregationis de propaganda fide, 1780), 432. 1289 Bull of Nicolas IV: Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*, volume 3, pp. 266-7.

Stato Landi. The archival documents are indexed and summarized in a 1984 edited volume and in a few earlier partial editions.<sup>122</sup>

Although incomplete in their coverage, these archival sources allow a considerable reappraisal of the received history of the church and convent of San Francesco. A basis for the interrogation of inconsistencies, these sources nevertheless produce new questions rather than conclusive answers.

## DISSERTATION STRUCTURE & ADDITIONAL DISCIPLINARY DIALOGUES

Chapter one investigates a long-accepted conciliatory land donation by a local Ghibelline aristocrat to the Franciscans in 1278. Since the seventeenth century, scholars have narratively deployed the donation as the denouement of an archetypal medieval factional war. Examination of the local politics between the Franciscan order, the commune, and the former landowner, Ubertino de Andito, allows alternative readings of the Franciscan acquisition of Andito's land.<sup>123</sup> Documents from Andito's archive suggest a different trajectory of the transfer of his property into Franciscan hands.

The extensive contributions of Pierre Racine and Piero Castignoli in the *Storia di Piacenza* series, as well as their other scholarship, are foundational resources for the political and urban context and bibliography of medieval Piacenza.<sup>124</sup> The first half of a 2009 volume in the *Itinerari Medievali* series edited by Roberto Greci was dedicated to Andito, addressing diverse aspects of his political career.<sup>125</sup> Additional studies on communal factions, class

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<sup>122</sup> Renato Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi: archivio Doria Landi Pamphilj; registi delle pergamene, 865-1625*, Fonti e studi. Serie Prima (Parma: Storia Patria per le Province Parmensi, 1984).

<sup>123</sup> It should be noted that scholars have tended to refer to Ubertino de Andito as Ubertino Landi, since the family name morphed into the more well known "Landi" in subsequent generations. All documents from Andito's lifetime, however, referred to him as Ubertinus de Andito.

<sup>124</sup> Racine's essays Pierre Racine, "Piacenza nell'Anno Mille," in *Storia di Piacenza*, ed. Piero Castignoli, 6 vols., vol. 2, Dal vescovo conte alla signoria (996-1313) (Piacenza: Cassa di risparmio di Piacenza, 1984); "La nascita del comune," in *Storia di Piacenza*, ed. Piero Castignoli, 6 vols., vol. 2, Dal vescovo conte alla signoria (996-1313) (Piacenza: Cassa di Risparmio di Piacenza, 1984); "Lo sviluppo dell'economia urbana," in *Storia di Piacenza*, ed. Piero Castignoli, 6 vols., vol. 2, Dal vescovo conte alla signoria (996-1313) (Piacenza: Cassa di Risparmio di Piacenza, 1984); "Le trasformazioni sociali del XIII secolo."; "La città nel XIII secolo."; "La discordia civile."; "Il movimento ereticale."; Piero Castignoli, "La storiografia e le fonti," *ibid.*; "Dalla podesteria perpetua."

<sup>125</sup> Roberto Greci, ed. *Studi sul Medioevo emiliano. Parma e Piacenza in età comunale*, Itinerari Medievali (Bologna: CLUEB, 2009). Particularly the essays of Stella Leprai, "Alle origini dello Stato Landi: la politica fondiaria della famiglia," in *Studi sul Medioevo emiliano. Parma e Piacenza in età comunale*, ed. Roberto Greci, *Itinerari Medievali* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2009); Roberto Greci, "Piacenza nel Duecento: il panorama politico," *ibid.*, *Itinerari Medievali*; Marina Gazzini, "La presenza dei Landi negli organismi societari a sfondo devozionale," *ibid.*; Caterina Bruschi, "Dissenso e presenza ereticale in

systems, military allegiances, and *podestà* culture and systems of exchange provide solid historical context on Piacenza as a commune within the broader system of imperial, papal, and royal institutions.<sup>126</sup>

Chapter two introduces a central primary source—a manuscript at the *Archivio di Stato* in Parma. Compiled in 1282 and 1283, the manuscript contains the transcript and supporting documentation of a papal inquest conducted four years into construction on the Franciscan church. The dialogue addressed construction of the convent and the urban changes it caused, but its primary focus was on the economic consequences suffered by the surrounding parish churches. The testimony thus illuminates mendicant-parochial relations and medieval economic history more generally.

The series on the mendicant orders published by the Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo in Spoleto provides foundational understanding for the topic of mendicant integration into medieval cities.<sup>127</sup> The work of Lorenzo Paolini offers additional background on the relationship between the Franciscans, the Papacy, and the Inquisition.<sup>128</sup> The scholarship of Augustine Thompson contributes to the contemporary understanding of the religious and social lives of “ordinary laypeople.”<sup>129</sup> Previously unpublished, the Parma

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Piacenza e nelle città padane tra gli anni Cinquanta e Settanta del Duecento," *ibid.*; Simone Bordini, "La memoria di Ubertino Landi. Ricerche tra biografia e storiografia," *ibid.*; Elda Biggi, "Ubertino Landi e i francescani: un ghibellino e Madonna Povertà," *ibid.*; Giuliana Albini, "Le podesterie di Ubertino Landi," *ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> J.C. Maire Vigueur, ed. *I podestà dell'Italia comunale. Reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine XII sec.-metà XIV sec.)* (Rome: École française de Rome & Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000); Pierre Toubert and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, eds., *Federico II e le città italiane* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1994).

<sup>127</sup> *L'Economia dei conventi dei frati minori e predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento: atti del XXXI Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 9-11 ottobre 2003*. Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2004); *Dalla penitenza all'ascolto delle confessioni: il ruolo dei frati mendicanti: atti del XXIII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 12-14 ottobre 1995*. Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996).

<sup>128</sup> Lorenzo Paolini, "Papato, inquisizione, frati," in *Il papato duecentesco e gli ordini mendicanti: atti del XXV Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 13-14 febbraio 1998, Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1998); "Geografia ereticale: Il radicamento cataro nella pianura padana a metà del XIII secolo," in *La norma e la memoria. Studi per Augusto Vasina*, ed. Tiziana Lazzari, Leardo Mascanzoni, and Rossella Rinaldi, *Nuovi studi storici* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo, 2004); "Gli Ordini Mendicanti e l'Inquisizione. Il 'comportamento' degli eretici e il giudizio sui frati," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 89, no. 2, Les Ordres Mendiants et la Ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220-v. 1350) (1977).

<sup>129</sup> Thompson, *Cities of God*.

manuscript offers a new account of the rise of the mendicant orders and their promotion of capitalism in the medieval city.

Chapter three examines the urban history of the site before and after the construction of the Franciscan convent. The Parma manuscript allows an extensive hypothetical reconstruction of the former buildings. The chapter includes a brief history of the city's broader urban patterns as influenced by its location along trade and water routes, and how those patterns dictated the locations of walls, markets, and religious institutions. Thus, the extent and significance of the changes engendered by the new convent are analyzed against prominent earlier trends. The redesign of the city's shape is explored in relation to the economic changes described in chapter two. The agents of the new capitalist modes of production assumed control over the city center, marginalizing the sites of the formerly dominant religious, temporal, and economic authorities. The history of San Francesco demonstrates how a single prominent architectural project, in this instance a religious institution, shaped urban space over time.

Chapter four hypothesizes the constructional phases of the church and convent based on physical evidence from the surviving buildings, the medieval historical record, and the record of nineteenth- and twentieth-century historicizing restorations.

The fifth chapter explores the history of the historicizing restorations and their relationship to our contemporary perceptions about the church and about medieval architecture as a whole. Two books introduce the topic of restorations in Piacenza and the region of Emilia-Romagna. A 1984 exhibition catalog edited by Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, *Gotico, Neogotico, Ipergotico*, outlines all major restorations in Piacenza from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century.<sup>130</sup> A 1986 book of essays was dedicated to the work of Alfonso Rubbiani, who restored Bologna's historic center during the same period.<sup>131</sup> The book included two essays about Camillo Guidotti, a prominent figure in Piacenza's medieval revival and one of the major restorers of San Francesco in the early twentieth

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<sup>130</sup> Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, ed. *Gotico, Neogotico, Ipergotico: Architettura e arti decorative a Piacenza, 1856-1915* (Bologna: Grafis, 1984).

<sup>131</sup> Livia Bertelli and Otello Mazzei, eds., *Alfonso Rubbiani e la cultura del restauro nel suo tempo (1880-1915)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1986).

century. D. Medina Lasansky's *The Renaissance Perfected* is foundational for any study of the culture of restorations and historicism in Italy.<sup>132</sup>

In conclusion, this dissertation considers the dialectically constitutive relationship between the historicizing restorations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the received histories of San Francesco and of medieval architecture more generally.

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<sup>132</sup> D. Medina Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2004).



## *Chapter I*

### PROPERTY & POLITICS

Beginning in the seventeenth century, historians have narrated that in 1278, Count Ubertino de Andito donated his land in the center of Piacenza to the Franciscan Order for their new convent. This chapter questions that narrative through the interrogation of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century chronicles where the story originated. My reexamination will reveal that the characterization of the land transfer as a donation was in large part conjectural. Despite this fact, most scholars even now continue to treat these later chronicles as transparent sources of history. By piecing together the surviving historical record from the thirteenth century, the chapter counters this assumption and presents a more plausible account of how the Franciscans acquired the property. This retelling will begin with a brief synopsis of the factional politics engulfing Piacenza and northern Italy in the thirteenth century, including some attention to the political role played by the mendicant orders within that political spectrum because the extent of their role as negotiators with regard to Ubertino's property will also be called into question. The chapter will then move into a more detailed history of the life of Ubertino de Andito, destined from his youth to lead an important political career as a close ally of Frederick II, the German emperor. The final section of the chapter will carefully track the fate of Ubertino's property during the political upheaval after the victory of Charles of Anjou at Benevento in 1266. While the results could have turned out much worse for the staunch Ghibelline, Ubertino did not escape completely unscathed. In the wake of the political shift, the Franciscans emerged with a valuable piece of Ubertino's former property in Piacenza's urban core. Their presence in that location participated in a broader reorientation of the city away from the periphery and toward the center. Together, the Franciscan complex, the new communal palace next door, and the public space they shared solidified the reorientation. These new structures urbanistically confirmed the city's political shift away from its imperial allegiances and toward the rule of a merchant-run, Guelph-sympathizing commune.

## The Historiography of the Conventual Foundation

The chronicler known as the Anonymous Ghibelline centered his thirteenth-century history of Piacenza on Ubertino.<sup>1</sup> Writing contemporaneously with the events until the chronicle ended in 1284, the author was an imperial sympathizer, reflected in the epithet given to him by the nineteenth-century editor of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Georg Heinrich Pertz. The chronicle recorded the day in 1278 when the Franciscans moved into the city center:

Die sabbati 14 mensis Madii fratres Minores de civitate Placentia intraverunt in tenutam et possessionem cassamentorum domorum que fuerunt domini comitis Ubertini de Andito, ponentes ibi crucem et capientes ex ipsis plenariam possessionem, et die dominico sequenti ibi celebraverunt misterium.<sup>2</sup>

The entry recounted that on Saturday, May 14, the Franciscans acquired possession of the *cassamentorum* (a common type of feudal holding conceded by a sovereign to a vassal) on *domorum* (houses) that used to belong (*fuerunt*) to the Lord Count Ubertino de Andito.<sup>3</sup> The author explicitly referred to the Franciscans' possession and even their active seizure of the property with the phrase, *capientes ex ipsis plenariam possessionem*. *Capientes* (seizing) describes an action distinct from the peaceful donation narrated in the later versions. The entry continued to explain that the Franciscans staked a cross at the site, celebrating mass the very next day (Sunday), liturgically completing the move.

While the author was emphatic in his characterization of the Franciscans' active role in the acquisition of the property, he was vague about the role played by Ubertino.<sup>4</sup> Although Ubertino was arguably the central protagonist throughout the chronicle, in this

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<sup>1</sup> Andreolli and Vasina, *Repertorio della cronachistica*, 274-278.

<sup>2</sup> There is one copy of the original manuscript of this chronicle: *Chronicon placentinum ab anno MCLIV ad annum MCCLXXXIV*, 1284. Harley Collection. British Museum, London. (MS #3678) The chronicle is available in three nineteenth-century printed editions: Huillard-Brèholles, *Chronicon placentinus et Chronico de rebus in Italia gestis, historiae stirpis imperatoris Suevorum illustrandae aptissima*; Pallastrelli, *Chronica Tria Placentina a Johanne Codagnello ab Anonymo et a Guerino Conscripita*, 326; "Annales placentini." My page citations come from Pertz's edition in the M.G.H.

<sup>3</sup> The family name de Andito is used interchangeably throughout the period in question with the name Landi, in chronicles and documents. I refer to him as Ubertino Landi, because that is the common reference in current scholarship. It is still unclear to me what exactly is meant by *casamenta*. Racine, in a discussion of Piacenza's early medieval urban situation attempted to distance them from the Roman *insulae*. But they do seem to refer to multiple-occupancy housing units. See discussion in Racine, "Anno mille," 34.

<sup>4</sup> Piero Castignoli has suggested that the chronicler could very well have been in Landi's employ as a notary. Piero Castignoli, "La storiografia e le fonti," *ibid.* (Cassa di Risparmio di Piacenza), 21-23, also see note 14, p. 29.

episode the author repeatedly assigned agency to the Franciscans. By never mentioning *how* the Franciscans acquired the land, the author left the question open to interpretation. However, he never implied that Ubertino gave them his property.

The fourteenth-century chronicles did not diverge significantly from the Anonymous Ghibelline's account, as demonstrated, for example, in the 1378 chronicle of Giovanni De Mussis:

Anno Christi MCCLXXVIII Ecclesia Fratrum Minorum nova incoepta fuit construi apud Plateam; & anno sequenti ibi intraverunt ad standum & in tenutam & possessionem casamentorum & domorum, quae fuerunt Comitis Ubertini de Andito, positorum in eundem locum, ponentes ibi Crucem, & capientes ex ipsis plenarium possessionem, & celebrantes ibi mysterium divinum.<sup>5</sup>

De Mussis introduced some subtle adjustments to the narrative, the most interesting of which is his suggestion that the Franciscans did not move into the new space until the following year, but the account otherwise followed the Anonymous Ghibelline, including the reuse of much of his language. This tendency lasted at least until the 1564 account of Umberto Locati, who recorded only that "*Sacra Divi Francisci edes fondata fuit, Sancta Maria prius nominata.*"<sup>6</sup>

These brief entries alone do not provide much context for the event. That lacuna has led recent scholars to consult the chronicles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to fill out the narrative. These scholars have not always read the later sources critically, resulting in the incorporation of their narratives as facts. They have thus adopted the story that Ubertino donated his property to the Franciscans when no sources prior to the seventeenth century support that assertion.

The first author to refer to the Franciscans' acquisition of Ubertino's property as a donation was Pier Maria Campi (1569-1649) in his *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica di Piacenza*. The three volumes of his work were published posthumously between 1651 and 1662. Campi, a canon of the church of Sant'Antonino, is a central figure in Piacenza's historical tradition.<sup>7</sup> The frontispiece to his book described the aim of his project, which was to report the

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<sup>5</sup> "Chronicon placentinum ab anno CCXXII usque ad annum MCCCCII, auctore Iohanne de Mussis cive placentino, nunc primum ex manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis," coll. 481.

<sup>6</sup> Locati, *De Placentinae Urbis Origine*, 94.

<sup>7</sup> Armando Petrucci, "Campi, Pier Maria," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1974), 524.

actions of the holy people in Piacenza's church history: an apt summary of his life's work as an apologist of the city's local saints.

Campi opened the third and final volume of his history with an intricate description of the location of Ubertino's palace in the city center where the Franciscan church is found today.<sup>8</sup> Campi attributed a series of attitudes and motives to Ubertino and suggested that he purchased the houses surrounding his palace in order to donate the whole site to the Franciscans. He described Ubertino's probable penitence for his past faults, and his desire to make amends for what he had done to the city and its churches. This vague accusation of harm to the city's churches presumably refers to Ubertino's political leanings—as a Ghibelline, he was by definition an enemy of the Church. Campi suggested a link between Ubertino's pious behavior and the fact that his sons had been in a French prison in Puglia since the battle of Benevento in 1266.<sup>9</sup> Broken by his misfortunes, in Campi's estimation, he longed to be in the Franciscans' good graces.

One notable insertion Campi made to this story was the reversal of agency in the property transfer, suggesting that for the love of God, Ubertino “ceded” his former houses to the Franciscans:

E quindi per ritornare all'istoria, trovo che Ubertino Landi havendo finalmente nello stesso anno 1278 per amor di Dio ceduto a' Frati di S. Francesco dell'Ordine de' Minori tutto quel sito di case, che di sopra dicemmo; e ritiratosi ad habitare nel suo castello sul vicinato de' Santi Giovanni, e Polo dentro la Città: i Padri senshaver' il consenso del Vescovo, si trasferirono nel mese di Giugno in processione dal Monastero loro, ch'era, dove hoggi di è S. Chiara, a prendere il possesso del memorato terreno; e quivi piantata la Croce in alto (si come si usava, facendosi qualche nuova Chiesa, od Oratorio) Sopra una pertica, si misero a demolire tutti que' casamenti, e vi edificarono per modo di provigione un picciolo Oratorio, chiudendosi ad un tratto con le muraglie delle cortine d'intorno verso amendue le strade.<sup>10</sup>

Here again, Campi referred to a motivation for the “donation,” bestowing Ubertino with feelings of contrition. Specifically, he claimed that Ubertino “for the love of God ceded to the friars of San Francesco...the whole site of houses...and [withdrew] to live in his castle in the parish of Santi Giovanni e Polo in the city.”<sup>11</sup> He also referred to the friars' procession to

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<sup>8</sup> Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*, I.

<sup>9</sup> Campi cited the chronicle of Locati for the years 1267 and 1270 as the source for that motivation.

<sup>10</sup> Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*. T. III, p. 3

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. T. III, p. 3

take possession of the site, where they staked a cross high on a pole, thereby echoing the language of the Anonymous Ghibelline.

Further on, Campi again linked the imprisonment of Ubertino's sons with his pious behavior.<sup>12</sup> However, the connection was a loose, merely suggesting that it was "per favore della Divina bontà, che diede segno di haver gradita la pietose offerta di lui in honore di S. Francesco."<sup>13</sup> In other words, Ubertino's pious offering pleased God enough for his son to be released. Scholars have exaggerated this link, going so far as to suggest that the Franciscans had a direct role in arranging his son's release.

Campi cited several sources in the marginalia of his text, and these seem to be the same sources known today. Of principal importance is the document from the Parma state archive, that was in the Franciscan archive in Campi's day. Campi cited the manuscript as "Attestation pub. in archiv. S. Francisci," the presumable source for both the purchase of the houses and their donation to the Franciscans. He cited the same document later as "Processus & attestat. in arch. Fratr(u)m Minor. Plac." He also referred to it as the "processo antico" that the friars preserved in their archive. As explained in the introduction, the manuscript recorded the events of a Papal trial regarding the beginning of construction on the Franciscan church in 1282. It contains extensive details of the first four years of the Franciscan presence in their new convent. Several of the details in Campi's narrative can be found in that manuscript. For example, he knew that the Franciscans had built their church and convent without receiving the consent of the Bishop. He also referred to their demolition of all the preexisting *casamenti* on the site, construction of a provisional oratory, and enclosure of the site within a precinct wall. While each of these events was recounted many times over in the inquest record, and witnesses explicitly referred to the previous ownership of the land by Ubertino de Andito, the manuscript contains no evidence to support Campi's claims about a donation.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*. T. III, p. 6

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. T. III, p. 6

<sup>14</sup> The manuscript is 730 years old and is missing a few pages, so it is possible that the evidence was contained in these lost pages, but due to the repetitive nature of the inquest record, which will become more apparent in the next chapter, it seems unlikely that an individual lost page would drastically change an otherwise consistent account.

Campi also referenced the aforementioned 16<sup>th</sup>-century Locati and the 13<sup>th</sup>-century Anonymous Ghibelline, cited in the marginalia as *MS. Plac. ann. 1278*. He also cited the historian of the Franciscan Order, Lucas Wadding, who in turn referred to the inquest record in the Franciscan archive (*Magnus hujus rei processus in rotulo pergamineo servatur in archivo Placentino Fratrum Minorum Conventualium*).<sup>15</sup>

It is certainly possible that Campi had access to documents in the seventeenth century that have not survived. On the other hand, a brief glimpse into his life can provide some context for his biases. In his 1995 book on Tridentine reform, the ecclesiastical historian Simon Ditchfield described Campi as emblematic of the period's renewed attention to local church history.<sup>16</sup> While Campi devoted his efforts to a variety of saints in Piacentine history, he was particularly dedicated to the ultimately unsuccessful canonization of Pope Gregory X. Gregory (1271-1276) was a native Piacentine and worked his entire papal term to negotiate peace between Ubertino and the commune. Campi's *Historia* included a special "Apologia del medesimo Autore per l'innocente, e santa vita del B. Gregorio Papa X. Piacentino."<sup>17</sup> Ditchfield paid particular attention to the canonization proceedings for Gregory, which began in Piacenza in 1623.<sup>18</sup> And indeed, these seventeenth-century proceedings may have been the source of the claim that Ubertino's peace with the commune was dependent on the donation of land to the Franciscans. A cleric and notary named Cesare Maretti testified that in 1560 he met a Count Costanzo Landi. Maretti had heard this Count Landi tell a Franciscan friar that he had "several letters which showed just how much Gregory had striven for peace between the factions of Piacenza, one of which had been led by his ancestor Count Ubertino Landi."<sup>19</sup> Ditchfield narrated Campi's desperation to solidify these narrative links within Gregory's official history in order to secure the case for his canonization.

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<sup>15</sup> Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, Josephus Maria Fonseca Eboensis ed., 20 vols., vol. 5 (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1931). 95, XIV

<sup>16</sup> Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>17</sup> Petrucci, "Campi, Pier Maria," 525-526; Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*. Tome 2, pp. 313-319

<sup>18</sup> Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 391-2.

Ditchfield was sympathetic toward Campi's tireless campaign for Gregory's canonization. He described Campi's determination despite his lack of money, power, or proper patronage.<sup>20</sup> Campi initially had the backing of the Farnese family, but that brought him little success with the Barberini Pope Urban VIII. Ditchfield argued that, rather than cave to political pressure from powerful interests seeking to canonize their saints, the pope effectively froze further canonizations during Campi's campaign for Gregory.<sup>21</sup> During the five years Campi spent in Rome between 1626 and 1631, he wrote between 4,000-4,500 letters in Gregory's favor and eventually went blind.<sup>22</sup>

While Ditchfield was largely sympathetic to Campi, the details revealed in his account support the idea that Campi had a vested interest in aggrandizing Gregory. Ditchfield did not deal directly with the passages in Campi's text regarding the Franciscan church. However, in one instance, Ditchfield uncovered where Campi had revised Milanese chronicles in order to exonerate Gregory from accusations of involvement in the assassination of Cardinal Oddone Visconti.<sup>23</sup> Campi's erudition and thoroughness have given him an authority that has been reinforced through to the present day, but must not preclude the interrogation of his interpretations.

Eighteenth-century accounts further embellished on Campi's account. In 1758, Cristoforo Poggiali attributed the "donation" to Ubertino's recognition of his past sins and a desire to ingratiate himself to the community:

Since Count Ubertino Landi had finally set aside his caprices, girded himself in sentiments of peace, and given himself over for the better to attend to works of piety, of devotion, everything in Piacenza went calmly and tranquilly. In that year, to the end of mending in some way the bad examples that he set for the world in his past and the grave injury wreaked on the churches and other pious places, he purchased from the Stretti, Avvogadri, Cucherli, Ficiani, Bonifazj, Margari, Bacini and Landi several contiguous houses, close to his own palace, located in the parish of Santa Maria del Cario, now called Sant'Apollonia, and those, together with his palace, he donated for the love of God, and in remission of his sins, to the Franciscans, so that they might found a church and convent of their institution in that location. The good religious accepted the offering with open arms, and in the month of June, without seeking the approval of the Bishop, nor even advising him of their plan, they processed to take possession of it...<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 395, 419.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 408-410.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 395.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 417.

<sup>24</sup> Author's translation. Original: "In somma, da che il Conte Ubertino Landi, quel gran Ghibellino, e capo di rissa, posti finalmente giù i ghiribizzi, vestì sentimenti di pace, e si diede pel suo meglio ad

Poggiali retained Campi's description of Ubertino's contrition. He repeated several of Campi's sentences verbatim, including the assertion that Ubertino had purchased the houses from their residents in order to give the land to the Franciscans. In contrast with Campi, Poggiali eliminated any reference to Ubertino's castle in the parish of Santi Giovanni e Paolo. By referring only to his residence within the land ceded to the Franciscans, Poggiali further exaggerated the Ubertino's piety.

Vincenzo Boselli, whose history of Piacenza dates to 1793, also speculated about Ubertino's possible reasons for giving his land to the Franciscans:

Having been restored to his fatherland, Count Ubertino, not for reasons of philanthropy and generosity, or to free his sons from incarceration by Charles of Anjou with the intervention of the friars, known for their ability to sway not only the hearts of the simple but also those of more powerful kings and monarchs, but to give thanks to God for having given him peace, and to make amends for his past faults that had kept him for so long outside the religious community, made a gift to the Franciscans of his house in the middle of the city of Piacenza, and many other houses nearby, where they built a church and convent.<sup>25</sup>

Boselli's version also focused solidly on Ubertino's piety. He minimized the reference to the tenants' houses, emphasizing Ubertino's residence alone. Boselli proposed that Ubertino's actions were not intended to advance himself politically or to reap some kind of reward, but rather "to make amends" and do what was best for the community. His refutation of the other claims for Ubertino's motivations removed even the possibility that Ubertino acted in his own interest, to assure that the incident be read as untainted.

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attendere all'opere di pietà, e divozione, le cose tutte in Piacenza passavano chete affatto, e tranquille. Egli stesso in quest'anno a fine di risarcire in qualche parte i mali esempi per lui dati al Mondo in addietro, e i danni gravissimi arrecati alle chiese, ed altri luoghi pii, compò dagli Stretti, Avvogadri, Cucherli, Ficiani, Bonifazj, Margari, Bacini, e Landi molte case contigue, o vicine al suo proprio Palagio, che posto era nella Parrocchia di S. Maria del Cario, detta di S. Apollonia oggidì; e quelle insieme con esso Palagio donò poscia per amor di Dio, e in rimessione de'suoi peccati a' Frati Minori, affinché ivi una Chiesa fondassero, e un Convento del loro istituto. Accettarono qu' buoni Religiosi a braccia aperte sì pingue offerta; e nel Mese di Giugno, senza cercare l'approvazione del Vescovo, e neppur renderlo avvisato, trasferironsi processionalmente a prenderne il possesso..." Poggiali, *Memorie storiche*, 385.

<sup>25</sup> Author's translation. Original: "Restituitosi alla Patria il conte Ubertino, non già per rendere immortale il suo nome con atto di grande liberalità, né per ottenere più facilmente la liberazione de' suoi figli da molto tempo prigionieri del Re Carlo per mezzo de' Frati di S. Francesco, per le loro virtù riputati arbitri de' cuori non de' semplici fedeli tanto ma de' Re e Monarchi più potenti; sì ben vero, com'è da credere, per rendere al Signor Iddio grazie per la datagli quiete, o se vogliasi anche dire, per fare ammenda delle sue passate colpe che l'avevano per lungo tempo tenuto separato dalla Comunione de' fedeli, fece dono ai Francescani della sua abitazione che teneva nel mezzo della città di Piacenza, e di molt'altre case poste in vicinanza di essa, acciò si costruissero una Chiesa e un Convento." Quoted in Nicolò Luxardo de Franchi and Emilio Scapin, "Sulla Pace del 1276 tra Ubertino Landi e Piacenza," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi* 4a s., XVI (1964): 59-60.



This reading has survived, as recent scholars have continued to seek an answer for Ubertino's motivation for the "donation." As recently as 2009, Elda Biggi developed an elaborate theory based in Thomistic theology and Franciscan poverty in order to explain his "charitable" act. Moreover, Biggi argued that Nicholas III's reference to Ubertino as a *nobilis viri* in a 1280 bull was evidence that he freely gave up the property because the use of the title suggests "deference and respect."<sup>26</sup> While I do not agree with Biggi's argument that the use of his title proves that Ubertino donated the land, she is nonetheless the first scholar since the seventeenth century to question whether the concession was "freely made." However, her ultimate conclusions kept her rooted in the tradition begun by Campi.

Having set aside the traditional narrative in which the transfer of property to the Franciscans was the result of a Franciscan-mediated peace accord of a factional dispute, the city's thirteenth-century political structure offers some alternative explanations.

## Factional Politics and the Mendicants

The conflicts between the pro- and anti-imperial factions of the Lombard communes characterized much of the region's political unrest during the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>27</sup> The primary factions were anti-imperial Milan and its allies on one side, and a contingent of pro-imperial cities, usually led by Cremona, on the other. Piacenza was at an important logistical axis, one that Milan wanted within its sphere of influence to consolidate its hegemony over the western Po Valley. On its eastern side, Piacenza often struggled with Parma over control of the strategically important Borgo San Donnino, an access point from the Valley to the regions to the south.<sup>28</sup> Parma's allegiance to the imperial faction secured Piacenza's place on the opposing side for much of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, when they exchanged many *podestà* with Milan, which was usually a sign of cooperation

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<sup>26</sup> Biggi, "Ubertino Landi e i francescani," 276-277.

<sup>27</sup> David Abulafia, "Federico II e i suoi rapporti con le città settentrionali," in *Federico II e la civiltà comunale nell'Italia del Nord. Atti del Convegno internazionale promosso in occasione dell'VIII centenario della nascita di Federico II di Svevia. Pavia, Aula Fosciana dell'Università – Rivellino, Castello Visconteo 13-15 ottobre 1994*, ed. Cosimo Damiano Fonseca and Renata Crotti (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1999), 12.

<sup>28</sup> Massimo Vallerani, "Le leghe cittadine: alleanze militari e relazioni politiche," in *Federico II e le città italiane*, ed. Pierre Toubert and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Palermo: Sellerio, 1994), 391.

between communes.<sup>29</sup> Piacenza was a member of the 1208 Lombard League, which declared its independence from the emperor along with Milan, Vicenza, and Alessandria.<sup>30</sup> However, beginning in 1220, imperially allied Cremona took over the offices of Piacenza's *podestà*.<sup>31</sup> Piacenza switched back to the anti-imperial faction in 1225 and remained anti-imperial through at least 1229.<sup>32</sup>

Some explanation for this back-and-forth can be found in the city's internal shifts between ruling factions of *milites* and *pedites*, or *popolo*. Political allegiances oscillated between local nobles, who were often affiliated with broader ideological factions, such as the more familiar later battles between Guelphs and Ghibellines.<sup>33</sup> Although social rank dictated the names of these early factions, class was not the only factor in their composition, and members of the nobility were often numbered in the *popolo* party. The local historian Piero Castignoli has suggested that this was because neither social group had enough authority to rule the city by itself.<sup>34</sup> The *popolo* relied on the legitimacy of the nobles, whose political affiliations tended to be more firmly rooted.

In 1233, a widespread reform movement known as the "Alleluia" or the Great Devotion, swept through Lombardy. In that year, several mendicant friars negotiated peace between factions in various Italian cities and promoted religious revival through preaching.<sup>35</sup> The Franciscan Leo de' Valvassori de Perego came to Piacenza in April following a clash between the Piacentine *popolo*, headed by Guillelmo de Andito (Ubertino's grandfather), and the *podestà*, Guifredo de' Pirovali.<sup>36</sup> De Perego served as a mediator between the factions

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 392. In addition to the Vallerani article cited throughout this section, see the vast recent literature on the institution of the Italian *podestà*, in particular the volumes of Maire Vigueur, *podestà dell'Italia*.

<sup>30</sup> Vallerani, "Le leghe cittadine: alleanze militari e relazioni politiche," 399.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 392.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 395.

<sup>33</sup> The use of the terms Guelph and Ghibelline to describe these factions is a complex issue. For perspective on the usage of the terms "Guelph" and "Ghibelline" to describe factions loyal to the pope and the emperor, respectively, see Rosa Maria Dessì, "I nomi di guelfi e ghibellini da Carlo I d'Angiò a Petrarca," in *Guelfi e ghibellini nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, ed. Marco Gentile (Rome: Viella, 2005).

<sup>34</sup> Castignoli, "Dalla podesteria perpetua," 279.

<sup>35</sup> See Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in XIIIth-Cent. Italy. The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Clarendon Press, 1992). André Vauchez, "Une campagne de pacification en Lombardie autour de 1233. L'action politique des Ordres Mendiant d'après la réforme des statuts communaux et les accords de paix," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 78 (1966). Daniel A. Brown, "The Alleluia. A Thirteenth Century Peace Movement," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 81 (1988).

<sup>36</sup> Thompson, *Revival preachers*, 36-38.

and presided over a meeting of the general council at which the two sides exchanged the kiss of peace.<sup>37</sup>

The role of the mendicant orders as mediators of peace within the communal government was institutionalized soon thereafter. The historians Pierre Racine and Piero Castignoli have both emphasized the importance of the commune's decision to share power between the *milites* and *popolo* groups, and identified the interventions of 1233 as when both mendicant participation in the government was regularized and factional power sharing was established.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the circumstantial evidence provided by Leo de' Valvassori de Perego's role in the chronicle, they cite the activity of Friar Giovanni da Vicenza in Bologna. Fra Giovanni was the main personality of the *Alleluia* movement. He led the mass gathering in the Veneto in 1233 that drew a crowd of as many as hundreds of thousands.<sup>39</sup> While Fra Giovanni was mediating factional strife in Bologna, he contributed changes to the city's statutes. Racine and Castignoli based their arguments that Piacenza reformulated its own statutes at this time on the example set by Fra Giovanni's role in Bologna.<sup>40</sup>

The specific duties of the mendicants outlined in Piacenza's statutes were ceremonial in nature, primarily serving as a neutral source of authority to legitimate various processes. For example, to mark the beginning and end of the period of election of the *podestà*, either the Franciscans or the Dominicans would ring their church bells.<sup>41</sup> For the elections of the general council, the *podestà* called together a committee of the Guardian of the Franciscans and the Prior of the Dominicans plus three additional members of each order. This committee in turn nominated a 24-member commission consisting of two nobles and two members of the *popolo* from each of the city's six neighborhoods, or *porte*. Each neighborhood group then chose 100 members to serve in the general city council, for a total

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<sup>37</sup> These events are not cited in the early chronicles. They appear in the fourteenth-century chronicles of Pietro Da Ripalta and Giovanni Musso, but not in either Codagnello or the *Anonimo*. Thompson mistakenly cites Codagnello, in the *MGH SS*, volume 18, p. 454, but the citation there is of an editorial insertion of a passage from Musso's chronicle. He also cites Musso twice as though different chronicles, seemingly accidentally. Da Ripalta: p. 79.

<sup>38</sup> Piero Castignoli, "Il ruolo degli Ordini Mendicanti nel governo del Comune di Piacenza durante il secolo XIII," *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* XCIX (2004): 212; Pierre Racine, "Eresie, francescanesimo e vita politica a Piacenza nel Duecento," *Biblioteca storica piacentina* 29 (2009): 24.

<sup>39</sup> Thompson, *Revival preachers*, 73.

<sup>40</sup> Racine, "Eresie," 23; Castignoli, "Il ruolo degli Ordini mendicanti," 212.

<sup>41</sup> "Il ruolo degli Ordini mendicanti," 212. The volume that contains these early statutes is *Statuta et decreta antiqua civitatis Placentiae*, (Brixiae: Andream Gallum bibliopolam placentinum, 1560), c.2.

of 600 members.<sup>42</sup> A separate statute required the attendance of two Franciscans at the specific meetings of the general council when notaries were chosen.<sup>43</sup>

Despite these measures, peace was never secure. In 1236, Pope Gregory IX sent the Cardinal Legate Pecorara to intervene in a renewed clash between political factions.<sup>44</sup> Pecorara named the Venetian Ranieri Zen *podestà*.<sup>45</sup> His resolution of the 1236 conflict in Piacenza included the expulsion of the Ghibellines from the city, including the de Andito family, and the destruction of Ghibelline homes.<sup>46</sup> In 1237, the emperor, as part of a larger peace negotiation, attempted unsuccessfully to reinstate the de Andito family to Piacenza. Despite the imperial efforts, Zen orchestrated the perpetual banishment of Ubertino's grandfather, Guillelmus de Andito, his sons, and the other exiles, which the city government and the Bishop ratified.<sup>47</sup>

## Ubertino de Andito and Ghibelline Domination of the Commune

After the expulsion of the leading members of the imperial faction in 1236, the city remained under anti-imperial control until 1250, when it dramatically returned to imperial sympathies with a popular revolt against the current *podestà*.<sup>48</sup> In that year, the ruling *popolo* elected Oberto dell'Iniquità leader of the government. Oberto had previously been firmly anti-imperial, so it was characterized as a surprise in the Ghibelline chronicle when he exiled

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<sup>42</sup> "Il ruolo degli Ordini mendicanti," 213. *Statuta et decreta antiqua civitatis Placentiae*, cc. 6v-7

<sup>43</sup> "Il ruolo degli Ordini mendicanti," 213.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 215.

<sup>45</sup> Zen would later become the Doge of Venice, and be a major patron of the Dominican convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and procurator for the Franciscan church of the Frari. Documents in the collection Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in the Archivio di Stato of Venice from 1256 and 1266, show Zen, while also the Doge of Venice, purchasing land as procurator for the Franciscan Order. Archivio di Stato, Venice, SMGFr, busta 109. Wladimiro Dorigo, *Venezia romanica. La formazione della città medioevale fino all'età gotica*, ed. Terisio Pignatti, et al., vol. 2, Monumenta veneta (Verona, Venice: Cierre Edizioni, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, Regione del Veneto, 2003), 908. For his donation of 1,000 lire to the Dominican convent of San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, see Franca Zava Boccazzi, *La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia*, Collana "Il bucintoro (Venice: F. Ongania, 1965). Furthermore, the presence of Ranieri Zen's will within the documents from the convent of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, speaks to his close association with them. Dorigo, *Venezia romanica*, 2, 808.

<sup>46</sup> Castignoli, "Il ruolo degli Ordini mendicanti," 215. In proximo mense Iulii domnus Iacobus Prenistrine episcopus cardinalis Placentiam accessit, qui caute cum quibusdam magnatibus populi sub specie pacis Guillelmum de Andito et filios, rectores populi, ablata eis dominatione, de civitate expulit: statim introductis militibus qui extra per episcopatum morabantur in civitatem, dedit eis per potestatem Raynerium Zenum de Venecia; exinde Placentini rebelles imperatori fuerunt. "Annales placentini," 473 line 50.

<sup>47</sup> "Annales placentini," 476.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 499. Da Ripalta, *Chronica Placentina*, 83-84. "Chronicon placentinum ab anno CCXXII usque ad annum MCCCCII, auctore Iohanne de Mussis cive placentino, nunc primum ex manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis," coll. 465-466.

the city's Guelph nobles and allowed the Ghibellines, including a young Ubertino de Andito, to return on March 25, 1251.<sup>49</sup> By that time, Ubertino already had an impressive pedigree as a political ally of Frederick II. Yet even before Ubertino's rise to prominence, his family had enjoyed a history of important governmental roles. As early as 1132, they held office as city consuls in Piacenza; by 1180 they were present on the city council.<sup>50</sup> They were part of the network of travelling *podestà* by 1183, when a certain Guglielmo de Andito held the office in Bologna.<sup>51</sup> Up until the exile of Ubertino's grandfather in 1236, the family had been among the nobles who allied themselves with the popular faction.<sup>52</sup>

Ubertino's activity during his family's exile was first recorded in several documents and chronicles in the late 1240s.<sup>53</sup> In 1245, Frederick II knighted the sons of Giannone di Andito (Ubertino's father) in a public ceremony in Cremona, which almost certainly included Ubertino.<sup>54</sup> In 1248, Frederick gave Ubertino the lands of the Abbey of Campolongo in the Valley Asinina and the county of Arezzo, with all consequent rights and jurisdictions.<sup>55</sup> The document detailing the transaction described the property as having been "confiscated for sins against the emperor." Ubertino also received an income of 26 denari from "the kiln (*fornace*) that had been collected by the imperial curia in the valley Asinina."

1248 was also the year of his first term as *podestà*, which he served in Bergamo.<sup>56</sup> In 1249, he was appointed *podestà* of Florence by Frederick II's son, Manfred.<sup>57</sup> In 1250,

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<sup>49</sup> "Annales placentini," 499; Castignoli, "Il ruolo degli Ordini mendicanti," 215-16. See also Poggiali, *Memorie storiche*. v. 5, pp. 230-1

<sup>50</sup> Albini, "Le podesterie di Ubertino Landi," 174-175.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>52</sup> Castignoli explains how these affiliations were part of the wider shift in communal politics from divisions between the noble and popular classes to divisions between allies of the emperor and the pope. Castignoli, "Dalla podesteria perpetua," 279. Giuliana Albini complicates this notion in her work on the office of the *podestà* in Piacenza. Albini, "Le podesterie di Ubertino Landi," 176. She notes that while Guglielmo was *podestà* of the popular faction in 1221, another Landi, Fulco, was the *podestà* of the *milites* in 1233. See also: "Piacenza dal XII al XIV secolo. Reclutamento ed esportazione dei *podestà* e capitani del popolo," in *I podestà dell'Italia comunale, Parte I: Reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine XII sec.-metà XIV sec.)*, ed. Jean Claude Maire Vigueur, vol. I (Rome: École française de Rome & Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000), 422, note 86.

<sup>53</sup> Landi was the subject of a 2005 conference held in Compiano-Bedonia, entitled *Ubertino Landi nell'Italia del Duecento*, the proceedings of which were published in the 2009 incarnation of the *Itinerari Medievali* series: Greci, *Medioevo emiliano*.

<sup>54</sup> Albini, "Le podesterie di Ubertino Landi," 180-181; "Annales placentini," 489, line 35. Presumably Ubertino, as one of Giannone's sons, would have been included in this ceremony, although the chronicle only explicitly names the father.

<sup>55</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*, 111. Doc# 440 (old number 1121)

<sup>56</sup> Albini, "Le podesterie di Ubertino Landi," 181-187.

<sup>57</sup> Andrea Zorzi, "I rettori di Firenze. Reclutamento, flussi, scambi (1193-1313)," in *I podestà dell'Italia comunale. Reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine XII sec.-metà XIV sec.)*, ed. Jean Claude

Ubertino appeared in the *Cronaca Senese* as Siena's *podestà*.<sup>58</sup> His importance in Siena is further documented by the *Charta bannorum*, a set of statutes written during his tenure there.<sup>59</sup> He was mentioned twice in the opening remarks and once in the notary's conclusion to the 86 laws.<sup>60</sup> Odile Redon, a scholar of Siena's *podestà* has suggested that Ubertino's contribution to both the *Charta bannorum* and another set of laws composed while he was in office, the *Breves officialium comunis senensis*, helped "formalize the resistance of the commune against the growing power of the *popolo* [and]...to reaffirm the powers of the *podestà*..."<sup>61</sup> Already, at this early date and at a young age, Ubertino had established himself as a politician. He also conducted lending activity, confirmed by a loan record to a Siennese citizen in 1250.<sup>62</sup>

In an essay about Ubertino as an imperial *podestà*, the scholar Giuliana Albini described a general system implemented by the Hohenstaufen that inserted their imperially sympathizing allies as the *podestà* of Ghibelline cities.<sup>63</sup> Ubertino can thus be considered part of a peninsular network of imperial politicians.<sup>64</sup> Another scholar, Andrea Zorzi, who has studied the *podestà* circuit in Florence, singled out Ubertino as a personal functionary of Frederick II and as a Ghibelline supporter more generally.<sup>65</sup> Zorzi attributed this role to the family's history of service to Frederick and his sons.<sup>66</sup> These studies confirm that Landi and

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Maire Vigueur (Rome: École française de Rome & Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000), 524-525. Robert Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze. Le origini* (Florence: Sansoni, 1907-09), 470 in note.

<sup>58</sup> Giosué Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, Pietro Fedele, ed. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento*, vol. XV, Part VI (Cronache senesi) (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1933), 192.

<sup>59</sup> Guido Mengozzi, *La "charta bannorum" di Ubertino dall'Andito. Potestà di Siena nel 1249* (Siena: Tip. e Lit. Sordomuti di L. Lazzeri, 1906).

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 64, 78 (transcription of the document). Note that the document says January 14, 1249, because at that time Siena still started its calendar on March 25, so anything prior to that would be dated a year earlier with respect to current usage. I am assuming that the reason for discrepancy with the *Chronicon Senese* is that it was compiled and published later, and fixed its dates.

<sup>61</sup> Odile Redon, "Qualche considerazione sulle magistrature forestiere a Siena nel duecento e nella prima metà del trecento," in *I podestà dell'Italia comunale. Reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine XII sec.-metà XIV sec.)*, ed. Jean Claude Maire Vigueur (Rome: École française de Rome & Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000), 663.

<sup>62</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. Doc #444

<sup>63</sup> Albini, "Le podesterie di Ubertino Landi," 173.

<sup>64</sup> In addition to Albini, for more on the Italian *podestà* in this period see: Maire Vigueur, *podestà dell'Italia*.

<sup>65</sup> Zorzi, "Rettori di Firenze," 527.

<sup>66</sup> For Landi's family history as *podestà*: Vittorio Franchini, *Saggio di ricerche su l'istituto del podestà nei comuni medievali* (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1912), 211. For Landi's earlier career as *podestà*: Margarete Ohlig, *Studien zum Beamtentum Friedrichs II. in Reichsitalien von 1237-1250 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der s'italienischen Beamten* (Kleinheubach am Main: Buchdruckerei J. Dier, 1936), 21. and Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*. Vol. II, pp. 470, 496-497, and 503.

his family were powerful politicians of the imperial party not only in Piacenza, but also in Italy in general.

When Ubertino came back to Piacenza in 1251, the commune was under the territorial rule of the powerful Oberto Pallavicino, who controlled several other cities in the area.<sup>67</sup> In 1253, Pallavicino was elected perpetual *podestà*.<sup>68</sup> While Pallavicino was occupied with the various cities under his control, Ubertino functioned as his second in command in Piacenza throughout the period of his rule.<sup>69</sup>

During the time of his political power in the 1250s, Ubertino amassed a feudal domain that included land both inside the city and in the countryside. The territory he acquired during the 1250s was the foundation of what would, in the sixteenth century, be the *Stato Landi*, a significant Renaissance principality.<sup>70</sup> The historical record of his real-estate activity during this period is voluminous. The records include purchases, sales, the establishment of fiefdoms, perpetual leases, rents, loans, and business activity.<sup>71</sup> Ubertino's acquisitions were economically and strategically important, and would continue to be so: his fortresses dotted along trade routes were often the sites of war.<sup>72</sup> One of the most important strongholds of his domain in the 1250s was the fortress at Bardi in the foothills of the Apennines, which he acquired with the purchase of a perpetual fief on January 12, 1253.<sup>73</sup> As

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<sup>67</sup> "Annales placentini," 505-6. "Chronicon placentinum ab anno CCXXII usque ad annum MCCCCII, auctore Iohanne de Mussis cive placentino, nunc primum ex manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis," coll. 472.

<sup>68</sup> Castignoli, "Il ruolo degli Ordini mendicanti," 218.

<sup>69</sup> "Annales placentini," 508-512. Da Ripalta, *Chronica Placentina*, 84-86. "Chronicon placentinum ab anno CCXXII usque ad annum MCCCCII, auctore Iohanne de Mussis cive placentino, nunc primum ex manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis," coll. 468-471; Pierre Racine, "Ubertino Landi e Alberto Scotto," in *La Basilica Di San Francesco in Piacenza: Tra Storia, Cultura, Arte E Spiritualità Nel 7200 Di Fondazione.*, ed. Giuseppe and Ferdinando Arisi Boiardi (Piacenza: Pilotta editrice, 1998), 40.

<sup>70</sup> Riccardo de Rosa, *Lo stato Landi (1257-1682)*, Biblioteca Storica Piacentina (Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co, 2008).

<sup>71</sup> See Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. Beginning on page 113 with document # 453

(1030) On August 5, 1251 in Piacenza, in the house of Bernabovis de Lando, Landi's procurator Becco Durbecco received the *canone annuo* for some of Landi's property in Roncarolo. Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 46.

<sup>72</sup> "Lo sviluppo," 77.

<sup>73</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. docs. 459-460 (January 12, 1253), 462 (January 21), docs. 523-525 (July 8, 1254) Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 45.

of 1254, Ubertino owned half of the Rocca di Bardi.<sup>74</sup> In July of that same year, several of the remaining owners sold him their interests.<sup>75</sup> But the fortress at Bardi was only one piece of a large domain.<sup>76</sup>

Compared with the large number of records for his properties in the hills, few records of Ubertino's holdings within the city of Piacenza have survived. The first of these documented a land purchase from Rufino di Caverzago and his wife Plaxia in the parish of Santi Giovanni e Paolo on January 31, 1252 for 100 *soldi piacentini*.<sup>77</sup> The document was recorded at Ubertino's castle (*castrum*) in the same parish.<sup>78</sup> The following year, he purchased several canals bordering his castle (*fossato tanto del terraggio che del fondo*) from the commune.<sup>79</sup> He made two more purchases in April of 1253 close to the monastery of San Savino, his castle, and some of the city's canals.<sup>80</sup> These records demonstrate a continual accumulation of property in the northeast quadrant of the city. He also continued to accumulate the rights to tolls on the Po and the other rivers surrounding the city. By the time of his first exile in 1257, his countryside domains provided him with a significant area of influence and source of income.

The favorable political climate for the Ghibellines first started to crumble in 1257, and Ubertino was exiled from the city.<sup>81</sup> The Anonymous Ghibelline recorded Ubertino's expulsion from Piacenza and the destruction of his castle:

Et Ubertinus de Andito in castro suo quod habebat in latere civitatis, cum aliquibus de populo se receptavit; et tercio die paciscit, et afidatis cum filiis et rebus suis ivit Cremonam cum tota sua familia, quod castrum contra promisionem sibi factam penitus

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<sup>74</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. Document 519 establishes the boundaries of the two halves between Landi and the other owners.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. Doc #523, July 8, 1254

<sup>76</sup> There are hundreds of records for this period of Landi's land transactions in the Piacentine mountains. Where specific transactions are relevant, I have noted them. Beyond those, I send to the Vignodelli Rubrichi-edited volume of the published registers from the *Fondo Landi* cited throughout, and in particular to the years of Landi's life and activity, i.e. between 1248 and 1298. Scholarship on the subject includes: Racine, "Landi e Scotto."; Piero Castignoli, "Un antico tariffario di dazi relativo alla navigazione commerciale padana," *Nuova rivista storica* LXVIII (1984): 391-396.

<sup>77</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. Doc #456 (January 31, 1252)

<sup>78</sup> The document lists the boundaries as including: the house of the sellers, land of the city moat, *via publica*, land that had been of Dondeao Fiolari and brothers.

<sup>79</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. Doc #468 (March 17, 1253) Racine, "Landi e Scotto,"

<sup>80</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. Doc #470 (April 23-28, 1253) and 471 (April 26, 1253)

<sup>81</sup> "Annales piacentini," 508.



destruxerunt, et ceperunt male agere contra partem volentes introducere Mediolanenses et Laudenses in civitatem reduxerunt.<sup>82</sup>

During his exile, he traveled to Puglia to pay tribute to Manfred, who invested him with the County of Venafro in Molise.<sup>83</sup> Additionally, he purchased several territories from the commune of Piacenza in 1258.<sup>84</sup> In this sale, the commune gave him jurisdiction over lands in the Borgo Torresana, Val di Taro, Val di Enna, the castle and territory of Castel Burgalli, and their interests in Compiano, Bedonia, the Val di Ceno, including all the income and rights for 6,000 *lire piacentini*.<sup>85</sup> Two mid-twentieth-century local scholars, Emilio Scapin and Nicolò Luxardo de Franchi, suggested that the record of the sale could be a fake, but their study leaves the question open to interpretation.<sup>86</sup> None of the more recent scholars on Ubertino's life have questioned the transaction.<sup>87</sup>

Both of these actions demonstrate a sharp political acumen on Ubertino's part. Having spent a significant portion of his youth in exile, he might even have been preparing for a future spent at least partially outside the city. Political battles between communal factions were a reality all over the Italian peninsula, as Ubertino would have known well, having served as *podestà* in both Siena and Florence, whose well-documented conflicts spanned the thirteenth century.<sup>88</sup> As *podestà* three times during the previous period of political unpopularity for Ghibellines in Piacenza, he would also have been aware that political exile did not necessarily mean either political oblivion, or financial destruction. Ubertino's land in the countryside would be the theater for several battles with the commune during subsequent exiles. His "territorial preparation" as well as his affirmation of the alliance with Manfred demonstrated a cautious attitude, political savvy and an intelligent territorial strategy.

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 509; Bordini, "La memoria," 296.

<sup>84</sup> Doria-Pamphilj document, Emilio Scapin and Nicolò Luxardo de Franchi, "Ubertino Landi e Piacenza: la "vendita" del 1258 è apocrifa?," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi* (1982).

<sup>85</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*, 46, note 86: cites a document in the Archivio Doria Pamphilj, Scaffale 39, Busta 23. He mentions that there is also a copy by the notary Azo de Villalonga in the Archivio di Stato di Parma, in the Ufficio dei confini del Magistrato Camerale. Doc. 618, March 16, 1257 (Racine, 1998 #308 Doc # 618, March 16, 1257 See also Castignoli, "Un'antico tariffario," 391-396. Racine cites documents in the Archivio Doria Pamphilj, Scaffale 39, Busta 23 and a copy by the notary Azo de Villalonga in the Archivio di Stato di Parma, in the Ufficio dei confini del Magistrato Camerale.

<sup>86</sup> Scapin and Luxardo de Franchi, "'vendita'."

<sup>87</sup> de Rosa, *Lo stato Landi*, 3.

<sup>88</sup> Dessì, "I nomi di guelfi e ghibellini."

Ubertino's exile did not last long. The dates noted for his reentry in the documents from the *Fondo Landi* and the local chronicles are conflicting: he is described as having returned to Piacenza by March, 1260, residing at the house of a certain Nicolai de Andito.<sup>89</sup> By October of that year, the notarial documents recorded transactions at Ubertino's own house in Piacenza, presumably rebuilt after its destruction in 1257. But the Ghibelline chronicle does not record Ubertino's reentry into the city until January of 1262 along with the rest of his allies later that year.<sup>90</sup> It seems possible that the official reentry would have been after a *de facto* peace was already in effect. Whenever the reentry occurred, at that point Ubertino resumed a position of power within the city.

## The Second Exile

The second phase of Ubertino's dominance in Piacenza lasted until Charles of Anjou's 1266 victory over Manfred at Benevento, which again reversed the political climate.<sup>91</sup> The local impact of this shift in Piacenza was significant. Racine has argued that the organization of the imperial faction began to crumble as soon as Manfred died in battle, strengthening the power of Charles of Anjou's Guelph supporters.<sup>92</sup>

The elite of Piacenza's merchants had more than a casual association with Charles. One merchant and banking family, the Scotti, partially financed Charles' exploits and received kickbacks from the Kingdom of Sicily for their operations.<sup>93</sup> (The Scotti family was growing in strength and would eventually produce Alberto Scotti, who reigned as Lord of Piacenza from 1290 until the city was subsumed under the Visconti domain in 1313.) For Ubertino, the personal consequences of the shift were severe. Both his sons were

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<sup>89</sup> Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. Doc. 642, March 14, 1260

<sup>90</sup> "Annales placentini," 513.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 508-512. Da Ripalta, *Chronica Placentina*, 84-86. "Chronicon placentinum ab anno CCXXII usque ad annum MCCCCII, auctore Iohanne de Mussis cive placentino, nunc primum ex manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis," coll. 468-471. Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 40.

<sup>92</sup> "Landi e Scotto," 40.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 43. E. Jordan, "Le Saint Siège et les banquiers italiens," in *Communication à la Ve section du IIIe Congrès scientifique international des Catholiques* (Bruxelles: 1895); *De mercatoribus Camerae apostolicae saeculo XIII ineunte* (Rennes, 1909).

incarcerated in Charles's prisons: Galvano would not be released until 1280, while Corrado died in captivity.<sup>94</sup>

The Anonymous Ghibelline recorded the 1267 uprising that ejected Ubertino and his followers from the city.<sup>95</sup> The author recounted the seizure of the fugitives' goods (*accipiunt eorum bona*), the destruction of towers in Cremona where a similar riot occurred (*dirruunt turres in Cremona*), as well as a more generic destruction of buildings (*destruunt domos*) and the incarceration of men (*ponunt homines in confinibus*).<sup>96</sup> Despite the shift, Ubertino went into exile with a strong support system of allies and his land holdings in the countryside.<sup>97</sup> Though he would never again attain the civic authority he once held, his powerful position enabled him to wage war against the commune for almost ten years.<sup>98</sup> His faction sent men to fight in Conradin's failed effort against Charles at Tagliacozzo in 1268.<sup>99</sup> In 1269, the *intrinsecos* of Piacenza (the communal forces) captured his fortress at Bardi.<sup>100</sup> Yet he still presented a strong enough threat that, in 1271, the French King Philip III refused to pass through the area specifically because of Ubertino's remaining strongholds.<sup>101</sup>

Two events in 1271 directly affected Ubertino's fate: Charles of Anjou became Lord of Piacenza, and the Piacentine Tebaldo Visconti was elected Pope Gregory X after an

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<sup>94</sup> "Annales placentini," 516. "Chronicon placentinum ab anno CCXXII usque ad annum MCCCCII, auctore Iohanne de Mussis cive placentino, nunc primum ex manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis," coll. 475. Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 56, note 10. Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 40, note 54.

<sup>95</sup> "Annales placentini."

<sup>96</sup> The issue over what happened to Landi's palace in 1267 is complicated by centuries of confusion in the scholarship. Racine liberally interprets the available information in "Landi e Scotto." For his sources, he generically cites Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. Racine also suggests that the commune put the property up for sale but does not follow through with a relevant source. Piero Castignoli, "Ubertino Landi e l'ultima resistenza filoimperiale sulla montagna piacentina," in *Atti del primo convegno sull'Appennino piacentino (Ferriere, 7 settembre 1974)* (Piacenza: 1975). For the versions in the thirteenth and fourteenth century chronicles: "Annales placentini," 522. "Chronicon placentinum ab anno CCXXII usque ad annum MCCCCII, auctore Iohanne de Mussis cive placentino, nunc primum ex manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis," coll. 474. Here again, Racine overconfidently cites an inconclusive source, the Anonymous Ghibelline. The assertions that Landi's palace in particular was destroyed in the riot, and that the reference provides the location of that palace are insupportable based on the source given. He goes on to assert that Landi's "Guelph enemies destroyed this palace in 1267," upon Landi's second exile. Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 46.

<sup>97</sup> The Ghibelline cites several allies of Landi, exiled with him: Iacobus Passacaldera, Robertus de Rochoveteri, *iudex*, Rufinus Vicecomites, Bernardus Vicedominus, Fredentius Bocardus, Actones Blancardus, Albertus de Rusio, Marchisius Girvinum, Bonefacius de Peccoraria, Ugatius de Porta, Raynaldus de Concorigio, Girardus Sandonus, Petrus Sanctus, Rangonus de Monte Canino, Iohannes de Verano, Iohannes Tinctor, Rubinus Firem, Guillelmus de Terdona, Gaymerius Gaytanus, Vilanus de Andito, Flamencus de Andito, Girardus Barbarumbeas de Andito, and Iohannes Manchasola.

<sup>98</sup> Castignoli, "L'ultima resistenza filoimperiale."

<sup>99</sup> "Annales placentini," 527.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 532.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 550.

almost three-year interregnum, thus intimately tying the peninsula's two major anti-imperial figures with Piacenza.<sup>102</sup> That reality made the city an even less hospitable environment for Ghibellines such as Ubertino.

Charles's ten-year rule in Piacenza was established in a 1271 treaty with the commune.<sup>103</sup> A few items from the treaty stand out. First, it consolidated the institutions of the communal government, leaving the old governing bodies (General council, special council, *podestà*) intact, and allowing the commune a great deal of autonomy.<sup>104</sup> Charles had the responsibility to defend the commune with the commitment of his soldiers, especially against attacks by the Ghibelline camp.<sup>105</sup>

The treaty also awarded free trade in the Kingdom of Sicily to Piacentine merchants and provided them protection abroad, and included deals with Piacenza's banking families.<sup>106</sup> The prominent merchant Rinaldo Scotto was placed in charge of the communal government.<sup>107</sup> The commercial provisions along with the institutionalization of the governmental role of the Society of Merchants and Guilds solidified Piacenza's merchant class as the dominant political force as well.<sup>108</sup>

The treaty dealt overtly with Ubertino as a landowner. Since he was the leader of the opposition forces in the hillsides of Piacenza, the treaty attempted to lure his allies away from his camp.<sup>109</sup> It stated that the exiles would be received back into the city should they come voluntarily within one month of the treaty's institution, provided they did not disturb the peace of Piacenza. Confiscated property would also be restored to them and would be safeguarded from attack. It referred to Ubertino with regard to circumstances in which the returning individuals had to restore their land to the commune:

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<sup>102</sup> Gregory was elected in 1271, but not consecrated until early 1272. Antonio Samorè, "Gregorio X ed Ubertino Landi," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi* 4 a.s., 30 (1978): 45.

<sup>103</sup> Three manuscripts (two originals and one copy) conserve the treaty between Charles of Anjou and Piacenza. They are located in Marseilles at the *Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, signatura B 270*. Castignoli has transcribed the treaty in Piero Castignoli, "L'alleanza tra Carlo d'Angiò e Piacenza e la nuova Costituzione del Comune (1271)," *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* LXIX, no. 1 (1974): 25-38.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 11-12.

<sup>106</sup> Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 43, notes 65 and 69, which refer to lines 2 and 27 of the treaty.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 43, note 70.

<sup>108</sup> Fugazza, *Diritto istituzioni e giustizia*, 178.

<sup>109</sup> For the following information about the confiscation of property and the treatment of exiles: Castignoli, "L'alleanza," 12. In the transcription, pages 37-38, sections X-XI.

Item fuit actum et promissum ab utraque parte solempniter quod Potestas, qui nunc est vel erit, nomine domini Regis et Comunis Placentie, teneatur ita facere et curare, bona fide, quod, si ab aliquo dictorum bannitorum aliquid est emptum vel in enphiteosim acceptum de rebus Comunis Placentie ubicunque sit, id ab eo bannito revendatur et traddatur (*sic*) Comuni Placentie, pro eo precio quo habuit et emphiteoticatum restitui si ipsi Comuni placuerit. Et hec locum habeant etiam in singularibus personibus (*sic*) a quibus Ubertinus de Andito acquisivisset aliquid, si voluerint precium datum restituere eidem Ubertino vel heredibus suis.<sup>110</sup>

The document refers to Ubertino de Andito as a property owner, specifically property purchased from exiles. Loosely translated, if any of the exiles had purchased or accepted in fiefdom land that had belonged to the commune, it must be resold to the commune for the same price, restoring the fiefdom to the commune. This was also to be the case for land Ubertino had purchased from them, if they would restore the price he paid to them. The significance of the passage is that the commune worked actively to restore its property that was in enemy hands, referring specifically to Ubertino. It is unclear whether the clause actually suggested that the exiles ought to give Ubertino his money back or if they were to pay that money to the commune, but what is clear is that there was particular concern surrounding Ubertino as a landowner. Thus, the treaty with Charles sought military protection from Ubertino as well as the restoration of the commune's sovereignty over its land. The relationship between Ubertino and the commune surrounding the question of property was problematic and entwined. Even in exile, he posed a major threat.

As soon as Gregory X was elected pope in 1271, he began working to pacify the warring factions all over Italy, particularly in his hometown of Piacenza.<sup>111</sup> He began negotiating with Piacenza on March 29, 1272, imploring the city in a letter to end their factional wars.<sup>112</sup> On June 30 of that year, he appointed the archbishop of Aix to meet with Ubertino to try to establish peace in the countryside.<sup>113</sup> Following this preliminary attempt, on May 18, 1273, Gregory's tone changed and he mentioned Ubertino specifically, chastising

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>111</sup> Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 44, note 71. L. Gatto, *Il pontificato di Gregorio X, 1271-1276*, First Edition: Rome, 1959 ed. (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2007); Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 56. E. Nasalli Rocca, *Prolemi religiosi e politici del '200* (Piacenza, 1938).

<sup>112</sup> *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, registro vaticano 37, folio 120 *rv*. The text of the letter is reproduced in: Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 56; Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*, Tome 2, Doc. CXXVIII. Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "Sulla pace," 56; Nicolò Luxardo de Franchi, "L'Alto Taro alla metà del XIII secolo," *Rivista Araldica* (1959).

<sup>113</sup> Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 56. "Annales placentini," 556.

him for his Ghibellinism and threatening any individuals who supported him with excommunication.<sup>114</sup>

Rather than peace, the following months brought more conflict.<sup>115</sup> Apparently fed up with the failed attempts at peace of the previous year, Gregory personally came to Piacenza on his way to the council in Lyon in October of 1273.<sup>116</sup> After a brief stop, he left the cardinals Ottobono Fieschi and Giacomo Savelli behind to negotiate with Ubertino. They managed to reach a peace agreement on January 11, 1274.<sup>117</sup> However, Gregory rejected this peace treaty in a letter to the Piacentines on March 12, and asked them to reexamine the terms in order to make them more conducive to Charles of Anjou's interests.<sup>118</sup> The rejected peace treaty had included yet another clause for the release of Ubertino's sons from Charles's prisons. It was still not to be. Gregory followed up his rejection with another letter on March 29 in which he reiterated his previous offers to negotiate with Ubertino and lamented his refusal. The pope reiterated the events of his previous sojourn in Piacenza and Milan where he had offered peace.<sup>119</sup>

On May 10, 1274, Gregory excommunicated Ubertino.<sup>120</sup> Nonetheless, Gregory again offered a truce if Ubertino capitulated by the fifteenth of August. Gregory renewed his excommunication against Ubertino on November 18, repeating the offer of reconciliation if Ubertino would repent by Holy Thursday of the following year.<sup>121</sup> Instead, Ubertino attempted another coup, this time using his allies within the city.<sup>122</sup> The participants in the coup were tortured and decapitated, unable to escape after the coup's failure. The pope responded with another excommunication of Ubertino and his followers on April 11, 1275,

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<sup>114</sup> *Registri Vaticani*, 37, f. 103 v. – 104, n. 9, Samorè, "Gregorio X ed Ubertino Landi," 46.

<sup>115</sup> Nicolò Luxardo de Franchi and Emilio Scapin, "Sulla Pace del 1276 tra Ubertino Landi e Piacenza," *ibid.* 4a s., XVI (1964): 56; N. Luxardo de Franchi, "Il castello di Monte Corneto in Val di Ceno," *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* (1963). Anonymous Ghibelline: Pallastrelli, *Chronica Tria Placentina a Johanne Codagnello ab Anonymo et a Guerino Conscripta*, 301 and sgg.

<sup>116</sup> Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 56. They don't mention a source. Gregory's visit is mentioned in the Anonymous Ghibelline, but haven't found other two dudes yet.

<sup>117</sup> "Annales placentini," 558; "pace del 1276," 56. Luxardo de Franchi, "L'Alto Taro." Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 56; Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*, v. II, doc. CLXIV.

<sup>118</sup> Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 57. Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*, Tome 2, Doc. CLXIV; Samorè, "Gregorio X ed Ubertino Landi," 47-8.

<sup>119</sup> Samorè outlines these documents. The March 29, 1274 letter from Gregory is preserved in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, reg. vat. 37, f. 180, n. 5. "Gregorio X ed Ubertino Landi," 48.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 50. *Archivio Vaticano*, Reg. Vat. 37, f. 181 v.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-2. Reg. Vat. 37, ff. 203-204

<sup>122</sup> Nicolò Luxardo de Franchi and Emilio Scapin, "Sulla Pace del 1276 tra Ubertino Landi e Piacenza," *ibid.* 4a s., XVI (1964): 57.

Holy Thursday, but again offered the possibility of peace by the August feast of the Ascension.<sup>123</sup>

After the Council of Lyon, Gregory died on January 10, 1276 in Arezzo on his return to Rome.<sup>124</sup> The long-awaited peace finally followed on January 20. Scholars have lamented that Gregory did not live to see the peace between Ubertino and the commune, as though the timing were a coincidence.<sup>125</sup> But the ten days that separate Gregory's death from the peace suggest that the absence of his strict requirements was what finally made the peace possible.

That Gregory's death created the circumstances for the peace to occur is supported by the rather lenient terms offered to Ubertino in the negotiations that followed. The peace acts were passed during a series of meetings in 1276 and 1277. The first two were on January 20 and 21, 1276, when three members of the Visconti family, acting on behalf of the commune of Piacenza gathered with Ubertino and a few others to draft the treaty.<sup>126</sup> On March 13, 1276, Piacenza's communal council received Ubertino and his followers in the city "honorably."<sup>127</sup> In the first agreement whose text is preserved, on April 8, 1276, the exile and the decrees against Ubertino and his allies were revoked, and the arbiters ordered that they be compensated for the damages they incurred upon their exile from the city, provided that

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid. Scapin and Luxardo de Franchi reference a document in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Registro 37, Foglio 180 r.v. de Rosa, *Lo stato Landi*, 8; Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 57. The manuscript reference for the excommunication is the Vatican Secret Archive, Registro 37, folio 180 r.v. Antonio Samorè, "Gregorio X ed Ubertino Landi," *ibid.* 4 a.s., 30 (1978): 52. Reg. Vat. 37, f. 242

<sup>124</sup> Nicolò Luxardo de Franchi and Emilio Scapin, "Sulla Pace del 1276 tra Ubertino Landi e Piacenza," *ibid.* 4a s., XVI (1964): 57. Boselli, *Delle storie piacentine*, Book X, p. 205.

<sup>125</sup> Samorè, "Gregorio X ed Ubertino Landi," 53.

<sup>126</sup> Referenced in Nicolò Luxardo de Franchi and Emilio Scapin, "Sulla Pace del 1276 tra Ubertino Landi e Piacenza," *ibid.* 4a s., XVI (1964): 58. who cite Leopoldo Cerri, "Ubertino Landi, conte di Venafrò," *Archivio storico delle province parmensi (A.S.P.P.)* XVIII (1918). Cerri used a document now lost from the *Archivio Doria Pamphilj*. I think it is also possible that these documents could be in a different archive, rather than the case being that the Doria-Pamphilj lost two important thirteenth-century documents. Cerri's oversight was chastised in a contemporary article in the *Bollettino Storico Piacentino*, in particular the fact that he missed the opportunity to publish an edition of them: Stefano Fermi, "Review of 'Ubertino Lando conte di Venafrò (sec. XIII) di Leopoldo Cerri: Parma, 1918, in 8. di pp. 29 (estr. dall'Arch. Stor. per le Prov. Parmensi, vol. XVIII, a. 1918),' " *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* 13 (1918).

<sup>127</sup> "Annales piacentini," 562; Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 58. Scapin and Luxardi-Franchi reproduce the text of these acts in their article, labeled *pergamena I* and *II* on pages 66-68, with their summaries on page 61. Scapin and Luxardi suggest that Landi was already in Piacenza at the time that he was purportedly "welcomed back." They say that Poggiali may offer evidence of this. The register of this act is also reproduced in Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*, 254.

the commune did not inflict those damages.<sup>128</sup> A variety of terms were agreed upon in a later document from 1276. The document began by requiring that the commune effect the release of Ubertino's son from Charles of Anjou's prisons. The commune was given an additional two months to produce Galvano; if they failed, they owed Ubertino 3,000 *lire placentini* or *imperiali* for the expenses he incurred attempting Galvano's liberation himself.<sup>129</sup> Ubertino was further exonerated from all excommunication and interdict, and his and his followers' property was secured from forced alienation, sale or confiscation.

After Ubertino's return to the city, there were a few other significant events related to the peace accords. On July 21, 1276, King Rudolph approved the statutes in a letter to the Piacentines written from Ulm.<sup>130</sup> A document from August 10, 1276 from the *podestà* of Piacenza declared that the commune's appointment of a captain and custodian of one of Ubertino's castles was not in violation of the pacts, nor did it reflect a desire to harm Ubertino.<sup>131</sup> On January 27, 1277, the Piacentine clergy excused Ubertino and his followers their unpaid tithes and damages suffered.<sup>132</sup>

The documents that survive made no mention of Franciscan involvement at any stage of the peace that brought Ubertino back to the city in 1276. Despite all his attempts to free his son Galvano from Charles of Anjou's prisons, Galvano would not be released until 1280, and then only with the help of a friend from Pavia.<sup>133</sup> If any institutional body was

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<sup>128</sup> Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276." Scapin and Luxardo de Franchi summarize the terms of page 61, The transcription of the text is on pp. 66-68. Confusingly, they refer to the act in their text as occurring on March 25, but the Latin transcription states April 8. Perhaps they are correcting for medieval dating, but they do not state as much in their text.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 69-70. "...ut ipsa pax melius conservetur, sentenciamus, pronunciamus, precipimus et arbitramur, sub pena in compromisso adposita, quod potestas, consilium et commune Placencie ita faciant et procurent quod ipsum Galvagnum filium ipsius Domini Ubertini restituant liberum ipsi domino Ubertino patri suo in loco securo et congruo usque ad duos menses proximos a die quo hec sententia venerit in eorum noticiam, vel dent et solvant ipsi domino Ubertino in qualemqualem compensacionem doloris et pro bono pacis et ut melius posit liberacionem ipsius sui filii procurare libras trium milium placentinarum seu imperialium in predicto termino duorum mensium postquam hec sententia venerit in eorum noticiam, nisi pro parte potestatis et comunis Placencie vel alterius eorum factum fuerit quominus perveniret: quo quidem casu perinde sit et valeat ac si prevenisset."

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 58; Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*. Doc. CCXXX

<sup>131</sup> Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 59. Scapin and Luxardi cite manuscript number 2576 from the *Archivio Doria Pamphilj Fondo Landi*, however the document is actually number 2567 in Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*, 258.

<sup>132</sup> Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 59. See also *pergamena* IV, pp. 73-75, and its summary on p. 63.

<sup>133</sup> "Annales placentini," 572. (May 31, 1280) "Die veneris ultimo mensis Madii Galvagnus filius comitis Ubertini de Lando relaxatus a carceribus domni regis Karoli, in quibus stetit per 14 annos et plus, operatione domni Campanixii de Cazis civis Papie applicuit in Placentiam, ubi receptus est a patre alacriter et benigne, et post paucos dies copullavit in uxorem filia condam Raynaldi Scoti."



linked to his son's release, it was the commune of Piacenza. The peace negotiations were established with the commune, and if the Franciscans were somehow involved, it was through a connection with the commune, not with Ubertino directly.

Historians of the peace negotiations, Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, have conflated the events of the peace with the Franciscan land takeover.<sup>134</sup> In addition to studying the surviving documents from the Archivio Doria Pamphilj about the peace of 1276, they also looked to Boselli's eighteenth century chronicle.<sup>135</sup> Scapin and Luxardo de Franchi asked, "Would it be wrong if one thought that it was precisely [Ubertino's] munificent donation to the friars that convinced the commune to [ratify the peace], though contradicting the naïve Boselli?"<sup>136</sup> Thus Scapin and Luxardo de Franchi colluded in the centuries-old tradition of speculating about Ubertino's motives when it still remained unclear whether the land was under his control when it passed to the Franciscans. Pierre Racine had conflated the peace of 1276 with the "Alleluia" movement of 1233, saying, "the civic peace, so sought after by the Franciscans since 1233, was finally reached."<sup>137</sup> In a more recent article, Castignoli suggested the involvement of the Franciscans in the treaty of 1271 with Charles of Anjou, despite their absence from that treaty.<sup>138</sup> Both Castignoli and Racine call on the events of 1233 as paradigmatic of mendicants' roles as peacemakers in the medieval Italian communes, and therefore in Piacenza, and to highlight their popularity.<sup>139</sup> Surely mendicants played a role in many factional disputes, but scholars addressing the Piacentine Franciscans have tended to infer their participation beyond what the evidence shows. The famous intervention in 1233 was orchestrated by the minister provincial for the region, not by the local Franciscan community, and does not prove Franciscan involvement in the 1276 peace. Racine viewed the transaction as a tidy ending to the story of the thirteenth-century conflicts between

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<sup>134</sup> Scapin and Luxardi suggest Franciscan participation in the peace acts "pace del 1276," 60.

<sup>135</sup> Boselli, *Delle storie piacentine*, Book X, p. 207.

<sup>136</sup> Author's translation. Printed in: Luxardo de Franchi and Scapin, "pace del 1276," 60. Original: "E sarebbe malizioso chi pensasse che fu proprio la munifica donazione del Landi ai frati, a decidere il Comune a compiere tale passo, pur contrastando l'ingenuo Boselli?"

<sup>137</sup> Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 50. "La pace civile, tanto sollecitata dai Frati Minori dal 1233, era infine conclusa." Racine cites Vauchez for this link, who certainly does not suggest one in his 1966 article on the peace movement of 1233.

<sup>138</sup> Castignoli, "Il ruolo degli Ordini mendicanti," 218.

<sup>139</sup> Racine, "Eresie," 24.

factions, downplaying the controversy that followed between the Franciscans and the parish churches.<sup>140</sup> But the documentary evidence does not support Racine's synopsis.

The peace treaty did not grant Landi control over any urban property when he came back to the city in 1276 after nine years in exile. Documents described his residence following his reentry as the house of Bernabò di Roncarolo.<sup>141</sup> No documents in his archive record acquisitions of urban property or transfers to the Franciscans.

Ubertino wrote two wills, the first in the year after his reentry to the city in 1277. That will made no reference to any property in the city. Moreover, Ubertino did not accord the Franciscans any special treatment in that will.<sup>142</sup> Rather, it was Chiaravalle della Colomba, the Cistercian abbey that he would specify in his 1297 will as his preferred place of burial should he die in Piacenza.<sup>143</sup> In the later will, the year before his death in 1298, Ubertino left both the Franciscan and Dominican Orders 50 lire contingent upon their holding commemorative masses and prayers. Though the wills tell us that he did not seem to hold a grudge against the Franciscans, they had no special place in Ubertino's heart or his purse. He never requested burial in the Franciscan church in Piacenza. Although he could not ignore them completely in his wills, for they obviously wielded significant power, they were, in effect his enemies: allies of the commune and the pope, who were no friends of Ubertino's while they resided on his land.

Based on the lack of any evidence of Franciscan intervention in the peace treaty, or any evidence that Ubertino regained his property in the city from either the treaties, land records from his own archive, or his wills, it seems probable that he did not have control over the property at the city center when it passed to the Franciscans. The land presumably belonged to him prior to his exile, because it continued to be associated with his name. It

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>141</sup> The documents from 1276 are recorded as taking place in Roncarolo's house in Piacenza where Landi was staying: Doc #982, April 1276; Doc #993, July 3, 1276; Doc #995, July 25, 1276; Doc #997, August 12, 1276; Doc #999, August 14, 1276; Doc #1013, July 10, 1277; Doc #1015 (Landi's will) July 17, 1277; Doc #1045, November 16, 1277; Doc #1063, May 20, 1278; Doc #1065, June 14, 1278; Doc #1090, March 26, 1279; Doc #1092, April 12, 1279; Doc #1138, November 12, 1279 Vignodelli Rubrichi, *Fondo della famiglia Landi*. There is then a hiatus of documents recorded at Roncarolo's house lasting until 1290, where Landi is involved, but it is not explicitly stated that he is living there. However, later, in 1299, the children of Galvano were reported to be staying there, suggesting that the house remained a more or less permanent residence of the family in the years after Landi's return from exile.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 263. Doc #1015

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 351-2. Doc # 1390

had been in the hands of the commune since 1267, which would have been collecting rent on the land over the course of nine years. Ubertino's return presented the commune with an awkward situation. Peace had been restored, but giving Ubertino back profitable land in the middle of the city was probably more than the commune was willing to do. Apparently, the commune instead presented the land to the Franciscans, a solution that would forever alter the shape of the city.

## Chapter 2

### LEGAL TROUBLE & PASTORAL INTERFERENCE

While the communal government appears to have actively promoted the Franciscans' new convent, the episcopal and parochial clergy fiercely resisted the friars' relocation to the city center. The urban conflict between the mendicant orders and traditional clerical institutions may be compared to the way modern cities must negotiate the regulation of commercial ventures, choosing between the interests of multi-billion-dollar corporations or local, independent retailers. The introduction of the Franciscan Order into a dense urban neighborhood filled with long-established parish churches disrupted those churches' economies and their pastoral oversight: it was the Wal-Mart to their mom-and-pop store. This chapter examines the struggle between the Franciscans and the parish churches as it played out legally, economically, and socially. Legal actions were taken against the Franciscans, first by the local clergy in 1278 right after their move, then by legates of Pope Martin IV in 1282. The proceedings were recorded in the manuscript now located at the *Archivio di Stato* in Parma. The testimony provides a window into the pastoral, social, and economic changes brought about by the introduction of the Franciscan convent to the city center. The witnesses offered detailed descriptions of the specific ways in which the Franciscans interrupted the traditional services offered by parish churches prior to their arrival. Moreover, these details are exemplary of the transition from a feudal to a capitalist economy at the end of the thirteenth century and demonstrate how that transition was experienced in Piacenza.

### Papal Inquest

Luigi Pellegrini has argued that the mendicants carefully positioned themselves to benefit economically from the cure of souls, and that this aim was institutionalized through papal privileges.<sup>1</sup> Gradually, their pastoral practices coupled with papal support eroded the

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<sup>1</sup> Luigi Pellegrini, "Mendicanti e parroci: coesistenza e conflitti di due strutture organizzative della "cura animarum", in *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa dei laici nel '200, Atti del convegno internazionale (Assise, 16-18 ottobre 1980)* (Assisi: Università degli studi di Perugia, 1981), 155.

control of the local clergy.<sup>2</sup> Pellegrini posited that parish resistance to papal privileges on behalf of the mendicants contributed to the clarification and validation of the friars' pastoral role, the opposite outcome to that sought by the parishes.<sup>3</sup> However, the popes were not always supportive of the friars. While defending the friars was more typical, some made efforts to defend the parishes.

The history of papal legislation relating to the friars' pastoral practices began in 1221 when Honorius III allowed the Dominicans to hear confession.<sup>4</sup> Pellegrini identified this event as creating a second pastoral structure alongside that of the parishes and the dioceses. In 1224, Honorius issued another privilege, allowing the friars to celebrate mass in their oratories on portable altars, even quietly during times of general interdict, and without the consecration of the Bishop.<sup>5</sup> In 1231, Gregory IX again instructed the bishops to allow friars to perform whatever sacraments they wished, including confession and the celebration of mass.<sup>6</sup>

In 1254, Innocent IV issued the bull *Etsi Animarum*, eliminating the mendicants' privileges, and forbidding preaching and confession without the local bishop's approval. But that impediment did not last long; in 1255, Alexander IV rescinded *Etsi Animarum* with *Quasi Lignum Vitae*, which reinstated those privileges.<sup>7</sup> These vacillations were to continue throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the issue of parish jurisdiction always a central problem.<sup>8</sup>

In Piacenza, the legal action against the Franciscans had an additional legislative component. A privilege of 1183 provided that the construction of new churches required the consent of the Cathedral Chapter, which the Franciscans did not obtain. That privilege created the grounds for the legal case against the Franciscans; it may have convinced Pope Martin IV to send his three legates to investigate in 1282.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>6</sup> C. H. (Clifford Hugh) Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London; New York: Longman, 1994), 152.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 159-60.

The manuscript of the inquest is in the *Archivio di Stato* in Parma, where it was moved at the time of the Napoleonic suppression of the monasteries in the early nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Although no edition exists, Elda Biggi of Parma has discussed it in several articles.<sup>10</sup> The manuscript is divided into two distinct sections and originally consisted of approximately 97 folios, of which 82 survive. The first, about seventy folios long, contains the transcript of testimony from eighteen witnesses. The witnesses interrogated included parish priests of nearby churches, building *magistri* who worked for the Franciscans, and other lay people, listed in the order of their testimony in Appendix A, including their titles and the manuscript pages on which they appear. The first two witness depositions are fragmentary and complete depositions begin with *Presbiter* Vincentius. The majority of the information about the convent and the details of the parish complaints come from the first sixty-seven folios.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See the discussion in the Introduction. The archive's acquisition index still refers to the manuscript as a scroll, but at some point it was bound within a large codex sometime after its transfer to Parma (the acquisition index still refers to it as a scroll). The numbering system is bizarre. It is unclear when the pages were numbered, but there are three distinct points in the numbering system that make it difficult to use. For a full correlation of the page numbers, see the appendix. The numeration accounted for blank pages where some missing ones should be. The beginning of the document is unclear, as well. Nine blank pages precede folio 9, which, like the remaining 83 pages of the manuscript, are fastened within large paper sheets. Five more blank pages follow folio 9, followed by folio 15, which is also fragmentary. Starting with folio 16, the pages are complete, and on the *recto* of that page, a note explains:

*Exemplum Testium Secutum in controversia subita inter Episcopum et Rectores pro Edificatione Eccle(s)ie S(anc)ti Francisci.*

The date of the note is unclear, but was probably prior to the manuscript's current binding. The parchment leaves fastened within the paper sheets are fairly uniform in size, approximately 61 cm long by 23 cm wide. The ruled area is approximately 53 cm long by 18-19 cm wide. The margins are generally about 3 cm on the left side, and 2 on the right side. The top and bottom margins have a series of sutures along them where the pages were sewn together when they were bound as a scroll. The actual space to the bottom and top edges from the ruled area range around 3-3.6 cm at the top and 4.3-4.7 at the bottom. The margins between the ruled area and the suture are more uniform, approximately 1.8-2.3 cm on the top, and 3-3.5 cm on the bottom. The ruled lines hover between 0.9-1.1 cm. Lowercase letters are approximately 1 mm in height, and upper case letters are approximately 3-5 mm. Many of the early pages are partially effaced, but most of the surviving pages are legible. Additionally, although not reflected in the numbering system, there are two places where pages are missing: between folios 34 and 35, where the testimony jumps ahead within one witness's testimony and again where the last witness's testimony on folio 80 abruptly ends, and a new part of the trial record begins.

<sup>10</sup> Biggi, "Ubertino Landi e i francescani."; "Anathema sit": Il processo ecclesiastico e la scomunica dei frati minori di Piacenza nel cartolario duecentesco di S. Francesco di Piazza," in *La Basilica Di San Francesco in Piacenza: Tra Storia, Cultura, Arte E Spiritualità Nel 7200 Di Fondazione.*, ed. Giuseppe Boiardi (Piacenza: Pilotta editrice, 1998); "Un intervento inedito di Martino IV tra frati minori e clero di Piacenza nel 1282," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 90 (1997).

<sup>11</sup> A note about the numbering system. At some point, the pages were numbered on the retros, in the upper-left-hand corners in Arabic numerals. The first mounted vellum page comes after eight blank paper sheets. The first vellum is a fragment, and it has been labeled with the Arabic numeral "9." Thereafter follow five more blank sheets, after which the mounted vellum pages are no longer interrupted and the numbers continue in sequence, starting with page 15. Their system indicates that

The remaining seventeen pages of the manuscript contain *instrumenta*, copies of notarial documents pertaining to the investigation between 1278 and 1283 (Appendix C). These documents are crucial, providing the context for the 1282 interrogations that comprise the rest of the manuscript. The legates probably assembled these documents as background for their investigation so that they could compose their questions. They could thus also establish the context of the trial for subsequent readers, such as the pope to whom they would subsequently deliver the entire manuscript in Rome. The *instrumenta* from 1282 and 1283 involved the legates directly. For example, they called the witnesses to swear an oath before giving their testimony. The records locate the trial processes chronologically and physically and provide confirmation of the participants' identities. They also provide an introduction to the legal conflict.

As the chroniclers recorded, the Franciscans took possession of their new property on May 14, 1278.<sup>12</sup> The witnesses attested that they immediately began building the church and convent, beginning with an enclosure wall (*cortina*) that blocked the site from the surrounding streets. While they must have begun with the demolition of the preexisting structures, including at least eleven private homes, the witnesses only indicated the demolitions indirectly through the reference to those former houses. While they explicitly described construction, none mentioned demolition. The witnesses also repeatedly confirmed that the land had previously belonged to Ubertino de Andito.

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they were aware of pages that have now gone missing, or were too damaged to be included in the bound codex, or some other unknowable explanation.

However, at what ostensibly should be numbered page 30, is instead labeled page 29*bis*, followed then by page 30. After page 36, the numeration jumps to 39, although the testimony as written does not have any discernible interruption. (That the jumps in numeration have something to do with the content seems to be negated by the testimony of Ubertus Reddemanus, whose testimony has a lacuna between questioning from the fifth *capitulum* to the twenty-second. However, the Arabic pagination does not indicate an awareness of that jump and proceeds from 34 to 35.

My pagination begins with 9, then follows with 15-97. I was unaware of the eccentricities in the Arabic pagination on the retros when I was doing my transcription, so I have left my pagination alone. I did, however, include a chart in Appendix B that correlates my pagination with the Arabic numbers on the retros, for ease of consulting the manuscript in the *Archivio di Stato* in Parma without counting from the beginning.

<sup>12</sup> Our source for the exact date of the beginning of construction is the chronicle of the Anonymous Ghibelline. Several witnesses mentioned the month of May as the date the friars moved and began construction, as well.

On June 18, the cathedral chapter denounced the friars' project and prohibited further construction.<sup>13</sup> They also demanded that the friars destroy what had been erected to date and requested restitution for their losses ("Et ad petendum et obtinendum de molinur destrui quitquid in ipsorum preiusdiciu est faciam vel modo aliquo constructum...petendum beneficium in integrum restitutionis dantes et concedentes in hiis et eorum singulis dicto procurator vel sindico liberam").<sup>14</sup>

The chapter appointed Iohannes De Vigoleno as *procurator* of the effort to halt construction of the convent.<sup>15</sup> De Vigoleno would remain central to the litigation against the Franciscans for the duration of the inquest record, upholding the bishop and chapter's sole right to authorize construction of new religious houses within the city.<sup>16</sup>

Later that June, De Vigoleno and other members of the clergy came to the Franciscans' new site and denounced the project by ceremoniously throwing three stones, invoking an act of canon law, *per iactum lapilli*. Also present at the denunciation were the rectors of several local parish churches opposed to the new religious establishment. The trial witnesses described De Vigoleno reading the denunciation at the entrance to the site, stipulating that construction cease immediately. Some witnesses described the legal document that recorded the denunciation and the notary who wrote it. The friars were, however, not deterred; they defiantly proceeded with the project.<sup>17</sup>

On October 25, 1278, the bishop's vicar, Ubertus Corvus, ordered the Franciscan guardian, Friar Bonusdeus of Parma, or a suitable representative, to report to him, the cathedral chapter, and the rectors of the parish churches. The manuscript named the parish churches of San Donino, San Nicolò dei Figli Agadi, San Michele, Santa Maria de Cario, San Iacobo de Sopramuro, and San Faustino. The record also specified that the "land or place" in

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<sup>13</sup> f. 90, l. 9-10 "ad denuntiandum novum opus atque ad prohibendum ne aliquid fiat in dictorum vel alicuius ipsorum de nove preiudiciu vel gravamen."

<sup>14</sup> f. 90, l. 15-16

<sup>15</sup> *Instrumentum* 1, f. 89, l. 44 - f. 90, l. 20

<sup>16</sup> "Non est conveniens quod dictum capitulum et clerus iure suo privetur vel in aliquo sine ipsarum culpa preiudiciu aliquod patiaturo circa discretione urem conmiectum et mandamus quot non obstante aliqua temporis prescriptione qui ipsas episcopo non potet nec debet serm vis et canonicas sanctiones ut patet ex rationibus superius prelibatis dictum sindicum ad proseguendum ius illorum quorum est sindicus et procurator et ad probandet de iure ipsorum admictatis et in negotio ipso nobis absentibus deum habentes preoculis institia mediante viriliter proceditis."

<sup>17</sup> In *capitulum* 9 of the interrogation, several witnesses testified that the friars continued after the denunciation, and that they acted as a convent.



question was the former location of the houses of Ubertino de Andito. Ubertus Corvus went to the friars' on both October 26 and 27, telling the gatekeeper that the Guardian and convent had to appear that day. Several of the witnesses testified about this summons, and confirmed that neither the friars nor the Guardian appeared on their behalf.

The next event recounted in the instrumenta was on November 15, 1278, when the vicar excommunicated the entire Franciscan convent, stating that the guardian and his convent were "rebels and gainsayers" to be publicly excommunicated. Several witnesses attested to having personally denounced the friars in their parish churches.<sup>18</sup> They also testified that the friars ignored their excommunication and continued to celebrate mass. Several clerical witnesses reported having read the sentence of excommunication, while lay witnesses heard it read in their parish churches. Presbiter Iacobus explained that he followed instructions in a letter from the vicar that he should remind his constituency of the friars' excommunication on Sundays and feast days.<sup>19</sup> Presbiter Vincentius, likewise gave a detailed account of the protocol of excommunication.<sup>20</sup> Presbiter Simon also recounted his memory of the sentence.<sup>21</sup> Presbiter Gerardus, like many of the other parish rectors, explained that the friars had been excommunicated, and that he knew because the vicar-issued precept required their excommunication be read in the churches of Piacenza. He had heard the pronouncements read and made them himself.<sup>22</sup> He also knew they continued to celebrate mass: he described "passing by in the street and hearing them celebrating...in the church

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<sup>18</sup> In *Capituli* 32-41, *Presbiter* Vincentius, Simon, Ubertus Reddemanus, Guillelmus de Vigolo, Gerardus, Albertus and Iacobus and *magister* Aço Medicus are the eight witnesses who claim to know that the friars were excommunicated with some additional information. *Dominus* Antolinus de Filiis Agadis, *Presbiter* Canonus and two other *magisters*, Iohannes de Christiana and Rolandus Zumignanus admit only to having heard that they were excommunicated. *Presbiter* Vincentius, Canonus, Gerardus, Guillelmus de Vigolo and Albertus had personally denounced them as excommunicated. *Presbiter* Ubertus Reddemanus only said that he heard them denounced in his church.

<sup>19</sup> Iacobus, f. 64, l. 15, cap. 41, "Quia ipse mec testis receipt nuntium et litteras predicti vicarii quod deberet eorum denunciare excommunicatos singulis diebus dominicis et festivis et etiam ipse mec testis denunciavit ipsos publice excommunicatos in ecclesia sua predicta."

<sup>20</sup> Vincentius, f. 23, l. 24, cap. 40

<sup>21</sup> Simon, f. 29, l. 24-34, cap. 41

<sup>22</sup> "...quia preceptum fuit ex parte domini Vicarii predicti ut deberet ipsos denunciari excommunicatos et audivit dici a capellanis predictae civitatis quod illud preceptum factum erat eis...et quod ipsi capelani dixerunt ei testi quod denunciaverant ipsos Gaurdianum et fratres excommunicatos. Et ipse mec testis similiter in ecclesia sua ipsos Guardianum et fratres denunciavit excommunicatos." Gerardus, f. 58, l. 38-47, cap. 38-40

they built in their place.”<sup>23</sup> Presbiter Guillelmus had also heard the announcement at his church of the Twelve Apostles, and the bells of the Cathedral and Sant’Antonino announcing it.<sup>24</sup>

Other clerical witnesses added their recollections that the friars continued to celebrate mass after the excommunication. Presbiter Canonus heard their services multiple times when passing on the street (*transeundo per viam*), and named the guilty friars.<sup>25</sup> Presbiter Ubertus Reddemanus made a similar accusation, having heard the friars singing and seeing men and women attending services (*quia audivit eos cantare et vidit homines et mulieres que ibant ad eorum officia*). He offered the name of the *podestà* in power at the time, Raynalditis de Cantoleriis, confirming that these services indeed took place after the friars’ excommunication.<sup>26</sup>

The accounts of the lay witnesses offered a different perspective. Antolinus knew of the excommunication and that the friars continued to celebrate mass because he had been present to see and hear them.<sup>27</sup> Throughout his testimony, it is clear that Antolinus was an active participant at the friars’ services. Aço Medicus, in contrast, was a less informative lay witness with limited familiarity of the event, knew about the excommunication from the announcements made throughout the city on Sundays and feast days in the form of ringing bells and lit candles. He had also heard the Franciscans continuing to hold services when passing in the street next to the convent.<sup>28</sup> While Antolinus’s testimony as a layman who personally attended the friars’ services offers more detail than that of the clerical witnesses, Aço Medicus’s limited observations as a lay outsider still included knowledge that the friars had been excommunicated. These differences reflect more of an inside/outside binary than a lay/cleric one: Antolinus’s information is privileged because of his attendance at the Franciscan church. Nevertheless, the similarity of Aço’s testimony to that of the clerical

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<sup>23</sup> “non set transeundo per dictum locum vidit et audivit ipsos celebrantos...in ecclesia edificata in dicto loco.” Gerardus, f. 59, l. 3, cap. 41

<sup>24</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo, f. 42, l. 2, cap. 40

<sup>25</sup> Canonus, f. 34, l. 1-6, cap. 41

<sup>26</sup> Ubertus Reddemanus, f. 36, l. 28-29, cap. 41

<sup>27</sup> Antolinus, f. 47, l. 38-45, cap. 38-40; f. 48, l. 2, cap. 41: “quia ipse mec testis vidit et audivit eis celebrare”

<sup>28</sup> “Quia audivit plures eundo per viam que est iuxta ecclesiam suam.” Aço Medicus, f. 70, l. 45, cap. 37-41; f. 71, l. 14-15

witnesses might offer some validity to the clergy's claims, which might otherwise have seemed prejudicial.

Two of the masons working on the church also confirmed the friars' excommunication. Rolandus heard that the friars had been excommunicated while he was in the cathedral.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Iohannes heard that the bishop's vicar had excommunicated the friars.<sup>30</sup> It was quite common for the testimony of the masons to confirm the testimonies of other witnesses, but with few exceptions they tended to be less detailed, particularly regarding ecclesiastical knowledge.

The Franciscans called the bishop's bluff and continued to offer the sacraments, as well as construction on the convent, both in contempt of an episcopal order. A little over a year later, their presumption would pay off: on January 5, 1280, Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) issued the bull *Fragilitatis Humanae Malitia*, which rescinded the excommunication.<sup>31</sup> Nicholas, whose father was a Franciscan tertiary, was always a supporter of the Order. His intervention on their behalf is nevertheless an indication of their ever-increasing political sway.

*Fragilitatis* would not be the papacy's last word, however. The Parma manuscript picks up the narrative of the legal proceedings on August 2, 1282. A notary described his location "in the choir of the new house of the friars and convent of the minors."<sup>32</sup> There, three papal legates delivered a letter to the friar Egidio de Rotofredo, the Vice-Guardian of the Franciscans. The notary described the appearance of the letter and the seals of the delegates in meticulous detail. The letter described was Pope Martin's order to the delegates to carry out the investigation. Martin's instructions were to procure witnesses, obtain their testimony, examine the relevant documents, listen to both sides of the case, and reach a verdict. The delegates gave the friars ten days to appear before them at the church of Sant'Eufemia to swear their oaths and begin the proceedings.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Rolandus, f. 66, l. 32, cap. 32-43

<sup>30</sup> Iohannes de Christiana, f. 74, l. 24, cap. 30--

<sup>31</sup> The bull was not among the Parma manuscript *instrumenta*, but was recorded in both the *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum* and Campi's *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica. Bullarium franciscanum*, 432.

<sup>32</sup> F. 82, l. 37-38, "In choro domus nove fratrum et conventus de ordine minorum."

<sup>33</sup> Biggi, "Anathema Sit," 104. Biggi outlined the contents of the *instrumentum* in her essay. The text of the *instrumentum* that contextualize's Martin's letter begins on folio 82, line 35. The text of Martin's

In an essay about Martin IV's letter, Elda Biggi explained the pope's motives in ordering the inquest by suggesting that he had an interest in being more cautious about offering immunity to the Franciscans.<sup>34</sup> She argued that the investigation could be seen as a desire to "make the situation transparent." When Martin IV had ascended the Holy See in 1281, he issued the Bull *Ad fructus uberes*, which granted the friars the freedom to practice whatever pastoral or sacramental functions they chose without seeking the consent of the local clergy.<sup>35</sup> The scholar C.H. Lawrence has described the period of Martin's papacy as frustrating for the secular opponents of the Mendicant orders, explaining that "the advent of Pope Martin IV, in 1281, added fresh fuel to the sense of grievance felt by many of the secular clergy."<sup>36</sup> It is strange that what Lawrence termed "the high-water mark of their privileged status" would have involved the most serious threat to the Piacentine Franciscans' project since their conflict with the local clergy began. However, although Martin investigated the situation in Piacenza more thoroughly than his predecessor, the Franciscans maintained their presumptuous attitude during the proceedings and did not behave as though they felt threatened. The legates' mission might thus be better understood as an effort to assuage the complaints of the secular clergy, rather than as a fundamental policy shift. An ambivalent attitude on the part of the papal administration might also explain the behavior of the friars over the course of the trial and their reluctance to submit to it in letter and spirit. Martin's bull also mentioned the 1183 privilege requiring episcopal consent for the new construction of churches as a motivation for the trial. Given the tenuous backing of a mendicant-supporting pope, much of the local clergy's case depended on that old privilege.

On August 11, 1282, the Franciscan Guardian Gerardinus Rangono appeared at the church of Sant'Eufemia, "ready to obey the precepts of the delegates."<sup>37</sup> They instructed him

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letter begins on folio 83, line 6. The *instrumentum* ends on folio 84, line 12. At that point, the numbering of the *instrumenta* is disjointed: the next record sequentially comes from December 18, 1282, and describes the final product that a Guillelmus de Babuco presented to the Bishop of Tusculanum (f. 84, l. 38-f. 85, l. 6) to give to the pope. The *instrumentum* includes a brief description of the contents of the manuscript. In the next *instrumentum*, dated January 11, 1283, Iohannes de Vigoleno appeared before the Bishop Ordonio of Tusculanum, and presented him with the letter from the papal legates. The next, from December 19, 1282, is a series of descriptions of the proceedings, continuing up through f. 86, l. 18.

<sup>34</sup> "Un intervento inedito di Martino IV tra frati minori e clero di Piacenza nel 1282," 350.

<sup>35</sup> Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*, 159.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> f. 86, l. 19-21

to appear the following day before the hour of terce at the church of San Sisto.<sup>38</sup> The next day, August 12, Rangonus presented the delegates with a sealed letter, whose text was reproduced in the manuscript. The letter indicated that Rangonus had been named the guardian of the Piacentine friars at a meeting in Bologna earlier that month.<sup>39</sup> A series of *instrumenta* requested that Gerardino return before the delegates to swear an oath in his honor and the honor of the friars of the convent. He produced yet another letter that had been recorded earlier that day at the friars' chapter meeting.<sup>40</sup> The meeting and letter authorized Gerardino to act on behalf of the convent, and specifically to represent them in front of the papal delegates.

The next day, Thursday, August 13, Gerardino reappeared before the delegates in the cloister of the monastery of San Sisto.<sup>41</sup> The delegates told him that he had to swear an oath as required by the papal directive, but he refused. The document lists the canons and monks who were present at the event.<sup>42</sup> Gerardino, in response, gave the delegates a *libellum* that requested that the trial be moved from Piacenza.<sup>43</sup> The request was not approved, and the delegates demanded that Gerardino attend the swearing in of the witnesses Iohannes de Vigoleno was about to produce.<sup>44</sup> This moment marked the end of his cooperation in the proceedings.

On Friday, August 14, after terce, De Vigoleno, in the presence of the delegates, accused the Guardian of being in contempt for failure to appear. The trial then began with the witnesses' oaths.<sup>45</sup> The tribunal called the second batch of witnesses on August 20, again requesting the presence of the Franciscan Guardian.<sup>46</sup> As expected, he did not appear, and De Vigoleno again requested that the delegates hold him in contempt.<sup>47</sup> The delegates complied.

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<sup>38</sup> f. 86, l. 25

<sup>39</sup> f. 86, l. 29-39

<sup>40</sup> The letter begins on f. 87, l. 9, incidentally it is recorded as taking place in the "capitulo domus nove ordinis fratrum minorum."

<sup>41</sup> f. 87, l. 41-43

<sup>42</sup> f. 88, l. 1-6

<sup>43</sup> f. 88, l. 8-32

<sup>44</sup> f. 88, l. 33-42

<sup>45</sup> The lists of witnesses can be found on the corresponding dates in Appendix C.

<sup>46</sup> f. 91, l. 26-33

<sup>47</sup> f. 91, l. 34-37

De Vigoleno then suggested that the delegates compel the friars to testify with successful results: on August 24, several friars were sworn in.<sup>48</sup> However, the delegates remained unsuccessful in summoning the Guardian. On September 4, the delegates called the last of the witnesses, a group that included masons, friars, and other lay people. The delegates then retired to Cremona.<sup>49</sup>

The outcome of the trial remains unclear. De Vigoleno visited the friars two last times that fall. On September 23, he presented the delegates with an instrumentum from September 21, recorded in the choir of the new Franciscan church (in choro ecclesie nove fratrum minorum de placentia).<sup>50</sup> He had arrived in the friars' choir to deliver a letter on behalf of the delegates, but was unable to place the letter in their hands because they were at vespers, singing the *magnificat*. So he deposited the letter on the altar, denouncing all those present at vespers.<sup>51</sup> De Vigoleno would visit the friars one last time on Saturday, November 14, 1282, at the "domo nova Fratrum Minorum de Placentia."<sup>52</sup> On this last trip, De Vigoleno again found the friars at vespers, again refusing to receive his letter, which he left on the friars' altar in their oratory.<sup>53</sup> The friars continued to resist the inquest and there is no evidence that De Vigoleno had any success in impeding their project.

## *Vox & Fama: The Friars Through Their Neighbors' Eyes*

When questioning the witnesses, the legates followed a template of forty-three *capituli*. With each witness, the legates addressed those *capituli* either individually or a few

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<sup>48</sup> f. 93, l. 14-21

<sup>49</sup> f. 93, l. 28 - f. 94, l. 26

<sup>50</sup> f. 94, l. 29-30

<sup>51</sup> f. 94, l. 33-42, the letter's contents go through f. 95, l. 13: "Iohannes de Vigoleno mansionarius maioris ecclesie placentia ex parte dominorum comitis abbatis sancti laurentii anselmi prepositi sancte agathe et octobelli prepositi sancti cataldi ecclesiarum cremonus domini pp delegatorum volens licteras predictorum dominorum sigillatas sigillis cercis ipsorum dominorum delegatorum fratri Gerardino Guardiano fratrum Minorum de Placentia et conventus cuiusdem porrigere et presentare nomine ipsorum Fratrum et conventus quem habere non potuit et dictas licteras porrigere voluit fratribus dicti conventus existentibus ad vespas et etiam cantando magnificat anima mea presentibus frater Raynaldo de Ragilio Fratre Egidio de Rotofredo Fratre Guillermo Blanco et multis fratribus de dicto ordine volentibus eas recipere et propterea dictas licteras dictorum delegatorum posuit super altare coram omnibus in dictis vesperis denuntians eisdem fratribus presentibus ex parte predictorum dominorum ut... Guardiano ipsas licteras presentarent quarum tenor talis est Comes abbas Monasterio Sancti Laurentii Anselmus prepositus ecclesie..."

<sup>52</sup> f. 97, l. 31

<sup>53</sup> f. 97, l. 39-41 "fratribus dicti ordinis existentibus in vesperis et renuentibus predictas licteras recipere quas licteras dictus syndicus posuit super altare hedificato in horatorio dicte domus nove forma quorum licterarum talis est..."

at a time. If the witness agreed with a particular *capitulum*, he would repeat it back from the template verbatim. When witnesses were unfamiliar with the content of the *capitulum*, the legates skipped them. That they used a template is evident from the identical responses for every witness on *capitulum* two, for example.<sup>54</sup> The template is instrumental to understanding the legates' perspective. The information they chose to present to the witnesses provides the best evidence available about what the object of the legates' investigation was. On the other side of the dialectic, the testimony of the witnesses offers the complementary local perspective.<sup>55</sup>

After each *capitulum*, the legates usually posed additional questions to the witness. The supplemental questions and the witnesses' answers tended to be more varied in content than the *capituli*. The legates could tailor their questions to each witness's area of knowledge. If the Appendix listing each *capitulum* by witness reveals homogeneity, a review of the remaining content reveals eighteen distinct personalities.<sup>56</sup> Their observations, memories, and impressions provide the content for the analysis of the friars' disruption of parochial life. The witnesses were not neutral observers of the friars. They were either laymen from the communities surrounding the Franciscan convent, the masons working on the buildings, or parish priests who were the close neighbors and colleagues of those who brought the suit against the Franciscans. The dialectic between the legates and witnesses provides an unusually rich context for understanding the multiple sides of the controversy surrounding the Franciscan construction project.

The term "vox et fama" (gossip) came up routinely when asking the witnesses whether the information they provided was widely known throughout the city. Each witness would repeat that the preceding testimony was "publica vox et fama." *Presbiter* Canonus, for example, explained that the vox et fama was common throughout the city "comuniter per totam civitatem."<sup>57</sup> Another witness explained a situation in which gossip was localized to

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<sup>54</sup> See *Capituli* appendix, *capitulum* 2

<sup>55</sup> Appendix D lays out each *capitulum* of the template according to each witness. For example, if one wanted to verify the fact that the witnesses did indeed respond identically to *capitulum* 2, one would consult Appendix D, *capitulum* 2. I have summarized the content of the template in Appendix E. Finally, to see a list of each witness's entire set of template responses, see Appendix F

<sup>56</sup> I have included brief synopses of the eighteen witnesses in Appendix G.

<sup>57</sup> Canonus, f. 31, l. 25, cap. 12

particular areas surrounding the friars' convent. The *vox et fama* question established that the issues the legates were investigating were relevant to the population at large.

The testimony of *Presbiter* Iacobus suggests what he believed constituted widespread gossip. Having heard from both clergy and laypeople, he confirmed that certain aspects of the friars' action had been *publica et notoria*. He defined *publica et notoria* as those things which were known by many, and stated that these rumors had been circulating for at least three years. Iacobus based much of his information on the local clergy's comments about the Franciscans. For example, he knew they had not received the necessary permission to build the church from the archdeacon and other canons of the Church in Piacenza. He also based this opinion on the fact that they were currently on trial. Iacobus claimed that the parish priests led the gossip. As confirmation that the *vox et fama* he described was indeed gossip, he described it as "that which women and men said" (*quod mulieres et homines dicunt*). He heard it from priests, clerics, and laypeople (*a presbiteris clericis et laycis*).<sup>58</sup>

The testimony suggests that the Franciscan introduction of pastoral functions in close proximity to several local parish churches stunted the economy of those parishes. The pastoral and the economic were linked in the minds of both witnesses and interrogators. The witnesses' issues with the Franciscans can be grouped into four major complaints. The first was the friars' relocation and the construction of the new convent. Fairly self-explanatory, the witnesses all concurred that it was the new convent in that specific location that caused the problem. Next, the friars offered the sacraments to parishioners, depriving the parishes of the oblations that accompanied them. Third, witnesses gave significant attention to the defection of women as an issue facing the parishes. The issue of women is especially notable, arising directly from witnesses' responses and not from the legates' template. Finally, the friars tore down several houses in the construction of their convent, further depleting constituencies of the parishes. These issues are symptomatic of a larger structural and economic shift away from the traditional parish system.

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<sup>58</sup> *Pres. Iacobus*, f. 61, l. 11, cap. 11-l. 35, cap. 12



## RELOCATION & NEW CONVENT

Many? of the witnesses identified the time that the friars moved to their new location and began construction as the moment when they began celebrating mass and accepting parishioners. The witnesses described a raucous convent in close proximity to the nearby parish churches. According to witnesses, the noise included voices, the sound of bells, and the masses themselves. Events were so loud that they impeded services in the nearby parish churches.<sup>59</sup> Aside from these disturbances, most complaints stemmed from the attraction of the convent for parishioners and their oblations.

Presbiter Ubertus explained that the vox et fama about the friars regarded specifically the building they built and the donations they accepted, and that it began from the time they came to live in the new location “*edificium factum oblationes accepta per eos.*” Presbiter Simon concurred “*ecclesia edificata in dicto loco et quod sunt excommunicati dicti fratres.*”<sup>60</sup>

Presbiter Guillelmus de Vigolo’s opinion was that the friars’ relocation caused their notoriety (“*separatio fratrum loco suo antico per veniendo ad dictum locum novum*”).<sup>61</sup> He testified that the talk began from the time the friars first began to celebrate mass there (“*ab eo tempore quo primo dicti fratres ceperunt ibi celebrari divina omittendo eorum ecclesias et eundo ad ecclesiam in dicto loco factam dictorum fratrum.*”)<sup>62</sup> He later reiterated the opinion that the root of the vox et fama was the location change: (“*cambiamentum factum per dictos fratres a loco suo veteri ad predictum locum novum factum...*”) as well as their actions at the new site: (“*...et ea que facta sunt per ipsos fratres in dicto loco novo.*”)<sup>63</sup>

Presbiter Iacobus also testified that the vox et fama occurred when they started building on the new site and celebrating mass there, particularly in the *contratas* where they were building, explaining that the priests and parishioners were the ones generating the

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<sup>59</sup> These charges are outlined in capitulum 27 of the witnesses’ testimony

<sup>60</sup> Ubertus, f. 35, l. 37-39, cap. 30; Simon, f. 29, l. 47, cap. 42

<sup>61</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo, f. 39, l. 16, cap. 13

<sup>62</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo, f. 40, l. 23, cap. 20-21

<sup>63</sup> Guillelmus, f. 41, l. 20, cap. 30

gossip (“ab eo tempore citra quo edificaverunt in dicto loco et celebraverunt ibi...per contratas ubi edificaverunt...presbiteri parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum.”)<sup>64</sup>

Roffinus also described the vox et fama beginning when the friars came to the new location.<sup>65</sup> Even Cumignanus, the reluctant mason, had some awareness of the local gossip, recalling that the vox et fama was about the convent built by the friars (“domus facta per fratres.”)<sup>66</sup>

Some witnesses traced the parishioners’ reception to the beginning of construction of the convent. Presbiter Gerardus said that the friars received parishioners from the time that they began to build the oratorium and every month and every day since (“ab eo tempore citra quo ceperunt facere oratorium omni mense et omni die.”)<sup>67</sup> He later specified that the first time they received parishioners was when they built the altar, and that they continued to receive parishioners up to the present day (“primo eo tempore quo edificaverunt altare ultimo usque nunc...”).<sup>68</sup> Gerardus explained that the new building caused the loss of parishioners who owed their parish churches many donations “for both the living and the dead,” a loss that was particularly harmful to those churches because they were poor (“Propter dictum edificium novum amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sint pauperes.”)<sup>69</sup>

Antolinus explained that the parishioners had ceased going to their parish churches and heard services instead at the friars’ from the time they had begun building their oratorium and church, continuing every day up to the present (ab eo tempore citra quo edificaverunt oratorium et ecclesiam omni die usque nunc in audiendo officina fratrum [the parishioners] cessaverunt et cessant.”)<sup>70</sup> Antolinus said specifically that the parishioners instead donated to the *domum* of the friars: “persone vadunt ad ecclesiam fratrum et non ad ecclesias suas et quod non faciunt ecclesiis suis oblationes set faciunt ad domum dictorum

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<sup>64</sup> Presbiter Iacobus, f. 60, l. 26-27, c. 12

<sup>65</sup> Roffinus, f. 51, l. 44, cap. 12

<sup>66</sup> Cumignanus, f. 49, l. 18, cap. 12

<sup>67</sup> Gerardus, f. 57, l. 1-2, cap. 22

<sup>68</sup> Gerardus, f. 57 l. 3-4, cap. 22

<sup>69</sup> Gerardus, f. 57, l. 37, cap. 28

<sup>70</sup> Antolinus, f. 45, l. 39, cap. 21

fratrum et penitentie et ea que supra dixit.”<sup>71</sup> Presbiter Ubertus explicitly linked the building to the donations in his explanation for the local gossip: “edificium factum oblationes accepta per esos.”<sup>72</sup>

The frequent reference to the new building (novum edificium) as the cause of harm to the parishes suggests that the construction project itself might have motivated the friars’ solicitation of donations: they could have been intentionally recruiting the parishioners in order to finance their project. Regardless, the idea that the project was attracting not only the parishioners but also their money was fresh in the minds of the witnesses. While they acknowledged its significance as a new place where people could go for church services, they also clearly blamed the building for depleting the parishes’ funds.

Antolinus also mentions the loss of tithes for burials: “oblationibus, in penitentiis et in sepulture et in caritatibus.”<sup>73</sup> Previous scholars have often discussed the friars’ usurpation of parish burial rights.<sup>74</sup> Their intercessory prayers were considered more effective than those of the traditional clergy, making their convents more desirable places for burial.<sup>75</sup> Burial rights were strictly guarded by the parishes, as were those associated with tithes and other donations.<sup>76</sup> Despite these protections, the technical legality for the friars to bury parishioners in many places (as well as the friars’ de facto-immunity from the consequences of prosecution in Piacenza), led to the friars taking over burial rites. Antolinus’s testimony, as one of the parishioners who attended the friars’ convent for services, confirms that the Franciscans were burying parishioners by 1282.

There are cases in which the friars actively sought donations in brick and mortar to circumvent death taxes required by the city’s regular ecclesiastical institutions. Rules stated that a particular percentage of money left in wills had to go to the secular clergy. The friars’ practice of converting these bequests into “brick and mortar” meant that the parishioners

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<sup>71</sup> Antolinus, f. 44, l. 9-12, cap. 12

<sup>72</sup> Ubertus, f. 35, l. 37, c. 30

<sup>73</sup> Antolinus, f. 44, l. 4, cap. 11

<sup>74</sup> Michele Bacci, “Les frères, les legs et l’art: les investissements pour l’augmentation du culte divin,” in *Économie et religion. L’expérience des ordres mendiants (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Jacques Chiffolleau (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2009), 568.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 572.

<sup>76</sup> Pellegrini, “Mendicanti e parroci: coesistenza e conflitti di due strutture organizzative della “cura animarum,”” 138.

did not have to pay those taxes.<sup>77</sup> Archbishop Federico Visconti in Pisa lobbied his diocese to support their friars, referring explicitly to the benefits of turning their alms into bricks and mortar.

## SACRAMENTS

The friars' relocation, the new convent, the offering of sacraments, and the defection of parishioners were all linked. There was consequently significant attention paid to the services the Franciscans offered because it was through these services that they secured the funds to continue construction of their convent. Pellegrini has shown that parishes were economically dependent on the oblations associated with these sacraments, as well as on voluntary oblations.<sup>78</sup> Almost every single witness attested that the friars offered the sacraments and received parishioners ("quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipient parrochianos dictorum ecclesiarum ad divina.")<sup>79</sup> Several of the witnesses enumerated specific hours the parishioners attended at the friars'. Gerardus recounted that they held services for mass, vespers, and compline.<sup>80</sup> Albertus said that parishioners came at all hours.<sup>81</sup> Antolinus named "missas, vespas et completoria."<sup>82</sup> Roffinus described parishioner attendance at "matutina, ad missas et vespas."<sup>83</sup> Iohannes de Christiana named "missam et vespas."<sup>84</sup>

Many witnesses focused on the importance of the residents' specific *vicinanza*, or parish. Vincentius criticized members of the neighborhood ("vicinos") going to mass at the friars.<sup>85</sup> Ubertus ascribed the difficulty experienced by the parishes to parishioners attending the friars' church instead of their churches, explaining that they lived in the neighborhoods ("viciniis") of those churches.<sup>86</sup> Antolinus and Roffinus thought that the harm to the parishes was because the vicini of the parishes, who should have been going to their churches for

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<sup>77</sup> Bacci, "Les frères, les legs et l'art: les investissements pour l'augmentation du culte divin," 570.

<sup>78</sup> Pellegrini, "Mendicanti e parroci: coesistenza e conflitti di due strutture organizzative della "cura animarum", 137.

<sup>79</sup> Vincentius, See Appendix, *capitulum* 22

<sup>80</sup> "ad missas ad vespas et ad completorium." Gerardus, f. 57, l. 4, cap. 22

<sup>81</sup> Albertus, f. 78, l. 3, cap. 22

<sup>82</sup> Antolinus, f. 46, l. 12, cap. 22

<sup>83</sup> Roffinus, f. 52, l. 36, cap. 22

<sup>84</sup> Iohannes de Christiana, f. 74, l. 7, cap. 22; Rolandus, f. 66, l. 10, cap. 22

<sup>85</sup> Vincentius, f. 20, l. 35-44, cap. 11

<sup>86</sup> Ubertus, f. 35, l. 6-8, cap. 22

mass, went to the “domum dictorum fratrum.”<sup>87</sup> Iacobus mentioned Sunday mass as a time when people attended the friars’ church when they should have been going to their parish churches (“Et gens que vadit diebus festivis ad missam eorum cum deberent ire ad ecclesias parrochiales eorum.”)<sup>88</sup> Magister Rolandus noted the friars’ reception of parishioners, reporting that the friars received them on every day that they wanted to come, and to as many services as they wished to attend.<sup>89</sup> *Magister* Iohannes de Christiana was also aware that they received parishioners to mass. He claimed that he was present (quia interfuit), although it is open to interpretation whether he meant that he participated in the mass himself.<sup>90</sup>

Other witnesses stressed the importance of the oblations or tithes lost as a result of parishioner defection. Presbiter Guillelmus lamented that the rectors lost many tithes they were owed because the parishioners left them to go to the friars’ church (“ipsi rectores perdunt multas oblationes et multa bono que et quas deberent habere quia parrochiani renuiunt eorum ecclesias vadunt ad ecclesiam fratrum factam in dicto loco.”)<sup>91</sup> He later explained that his knowledge came from having seen them often (*multotiens*) going to the friars’ services most of the time (“pro maiori parte tempore temporis.”)<sup>92</sup> *Presbiter* Simon said that the gossip was about the friars’ reception of oblations from parishioners.<sup>93</sup>

Three witnesses made specific references to confession or penance. Antolinus referred to the loss of oblations in penance (confession), burial, and charity (“oblationibus, in penitentiis et in sepulture et in caritatibus.”)<sup>94</sup> Presbiter Canonus explained that the new building (edificium) hurt the chapter in preaching and the divine offices and that it hurt the rectors in oblations and confessions (“preiudicat capitulo in predicationibus ...et in divinis

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<sup>87</sup> Antolinus, f. 44, l. 1, cap. 11; Antolinus, f. 45, l. 43-44, cap. 21; Roffinus, f. 52, l. 36, cap. 22

<sup>88</sup> Iacobus, f. 61, l. 22, cap. 12

<sup>89</sup> Rolandus, f. 66, l. 7-10, cap. 22

<sup>90</sup> Iohannes de Christiana, f. 74, l. 1, cap. 22

<sup>91</sup> Guillelmus, f. 39, l. 36, cap. 16; he repeats a similar accusation on f. 41, l. 15, cap. 30: “quod dicte ecclesie perdunt oblationes suas et alia bona que recipiebant a parrochianis suis et domus edificate in dicto loco,” beginning “quando inceperunt facere officium divinum in dicto loco.”

<sup>92</sup> Guillelmus, f. 39, l. 38, cap. 16; f. 40, l. 20, cap. 20-21

<sup>93</sup> Simon, f. 28, l. 51, cap. 30

<sup>94</sup> Antolinus, f. 44, l. 4, cap. 11

officiis ... et aliis rectoribus preiudicat in oblationibus et confessionibus.”<sup>95</sup> Simon also said that the parishioners went to the services of the friars and abandoned their own churches, and that this resulted in harm to them through the loss of donations from confession, weddings, pregnant women, and in oblations of the living and the dead (“in penitentiis in sponsalibus in paolatis et in oblationibus vivorum et mortuorum”).<sup>96</sup>

The repeated mention of the loss of confessional offerings is another well-documented problem of the parishes caused by the Franciscans. Competition for the role of confessor presented a pastoral problem, a problem often criticized by contemporary theologians and clergymen. Hughes de Fagiano, the Archbishop of Nicosia, expressed concerns about the spiritual health of parishioners who did not confess to their episcopally appointed parish priest but to the friars instead, who were not invested with the authority to bind and unbind, thus fraudulently giving them absolution.<sup>97</sup> Confession was thus a fixture of social control as well as economic support.<sup>98</sup>

Perhaps what is most revealing about this testimony is that the witnesses consistently referred to the financial implications of this shift. The pastoral issues may have been a concern, but the witnesses only ever mentioned the problem of lost offerings. A structural shift from a largely feudal parish system to one based on movable wealth and competition was occurring. Economic issues overshadowed concerns about the spiritual health of parishioners, at least here. *Presbiter* Gerardus stated overtly that the loss of oblations was harmful to the parishes because they were poor (“sint pauperes.”)

## THE DEFECTION OF WOMEN (& MEN)

Both the economic and spiritual competition introduced by the success of the Franciscans are indexed by repeated references to the issue of parishioner attendance at their church, particularly that of women. The witnesses thus framed the problem in terms of

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<sup>95</sup> Canonus, f. 31, l. 16-20, cap. 11 “Int: In quibus et per quem modum preiudicat dictum edificum cuilibet rectori dictarum ecclesiarum et etiam predicto capitulo? Resp: quod preiudicat capitulo in predicationibus ...et in divinis officiis ... et aliis rectoribus preiudicat in oblationibus et confessionibus.”

<sup>96</sup> Simon, f. 25, l. 41, cap. 11

<sup>97</sup> Bacci, “Les frères, les legs et l'art: les investissements pour l'augmentation du culte divin,” 569.

<sup>98</sup> Pellegrini, “Mendicanti e parroci: coesistenza e conflitti di due strutture organizzative della “cura animarum,” 138.

a newly available parishioner volition and a dislike of its results. Several of them laid the blame for the results on the initial choices of the women of the parish.

The priests Vincentius, Simon, Canonus, Ubertus Reddemanus, Gerardus, Iacobus, and Albertus, and the laymen Antolinus, Roffinus de Andito, and Aço Medicus claimed that the friars celebrated wedding masses, several of them saying they did so frequently (“dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum frequenter in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum”).<sup>99</sup> The reference to wedding masses was well known enough to be included in the legates’ template. There is some ambiguity regarding the references to weddings and wives. In addition to the common reference to the celebration of wedding masses (*missas sponsaliorum*), there are some confusing references to *sponsas* (wives) together with *paiolatas* (pregnant women). They are often grouped together, as in *Presbiter* Simon’s aforementioned testimony, in which he stated that parish churches were harmed by oblations from wives and pregnant women and the bodies of the dead (“oblationibus sponsabus paiolatis et in corporibus mortuorum.”)<sup>100</sup> It remains unclear whether there is a direct link between the proliferation of weddings performed by the friars and the issue of female attendance more generally. Nevertheless, both were problematic for the witnesses.

Albertus identified the parish women for blame, claiming that the priest of the church of San Iacobo (one of the four churches most affected by the friars and the closest of the four to Albertus’s church) had told him that all the women of the parish had left him and gone to the friars for services (“parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum relinquerunt suas ecclesias et vadunt ad dictum locum ad officia divina et audivit ipse testis a presbiteros dicte ecclesie sancti iacobi quod omnis domine parrochie sue relinquerunt eum et ibant ad dictum locum ad officia.”) He also heard from the priests of both San Faustino and San Iacobo that the friars received the parishioners at their services at any hour of any day that they wanted to attend (“ad omnis horas qua volunt ire ipsi parrochiani et omni die.”)<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Ubertus Reddemanus, See Appendix, *capitulum* 23

<sup>100</sup> Simon, f. 25, l. 41, cap. 11

<sup>101</sup> “Ad omnis horas qua volunt ire ipsi parrochiani et omni die.” Albertus, f. 77, l. 42 – f. 78, l. 3, cap. 20–22

Iacobus also immediately raised the issue of the Franciscan administration of the sacraments to wives and pregnant women and the reception of parishioners as a cause of harm to the parishes (“preiudicat rectoribus predictarum ecclesiarum quia dicti fratres auferunt eis sponsas et paiolatas et parrochianos suos in solempnitatibus. Et capitulo et archipresbitero predictis preiudicat quod parrochiani sui vadunt diebus dominicis et festivis ad officium fratrum predictorum celebrantum in dicto loco.”)<sup>102</sup> He further claimed that the vox et fama about the friars was specifically about these sponse et paiolate who went to the friars rather than their parish churches (“sponse et paiolate que vadunt ad dictum locum.”)<sup>103</sup> The formulation “sponse et paiolate” is confusing because the terms sometimes seem to refer to donations or services offered, as well as to the individuals receiving those services. Iacobus explained that the gossip had become publica et notoria: in the canonica maiori and in the parts of town where the friars were building. In describing what specifically drove the gossip, he claimed that it was parish priests discussing the convent the friars were building.<sup>104</sup>

Presbiter Gerardus, specifically citing the attendance of women, claimed that women who should have been attending the churches of the aforementioned chapter, archpriest, and rectors, went frequently to the services of the friars at their convent on feast days and other days when they ought to be offering oblations to the aforementioned churches: (“domine que debebant venire ad ecclesias predictorum capituli archipresbiteri et rectorum vadunt multotiens ad officium dictorum fratrum in dicto loco festivis diebus et aliis quando deberent offerre oblationes ecclesiis predictis”).<sup>105</sup> If there were any doubt that Presbiter Gerardus was misunderstood or that the scribe mistakenly wrote domine, the list of names Gerardus provided was indeed a list of wives:

He did not know many of their names, but said that [they were] the wife of Dominus Roffinus de Andito and his associate, both of the parish of San Nicolò. And Domina Verdina, wife of Dominus Iacobus Strictus. And Domina Bellafiora, the wife of Comitibus de Bardis and the wife of Montis Strictus, all from the parish of San Iacobo. And the wife of Iohannis de Iniquitate from the parish of San Faustino or San Donino.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Iacobus, f. 61, l. 14, c. 11

<sup>103</sup> Iacobus, f. 61, l. 22, c. 12

<sup>104</sup> *Presbiter* Iacobus, f. 61, l. 38, c. 13

<sup>105</sup> Gerardus, cap. 11

<sup>106</sup> Gerardus, f. 55, l. 33-36, cap. 11 “Uxor Domini Roffini de Andito et socius eius ambe parrochie Sancti Nicolay. Et Domina Verdina uxor Domini Iacobi Stricti. Et domina Bellafiora uxor Comitibus de



When asked to confirm how he could be sure, he responded that he believed it and that he saw these women attend mass there along with many men of these parishes (“Quia credit et vidit dictas dominas introyre ad divinum officium in dicto loco et etiam multos homines dictarum parrochiarum.”)<sup>107</sup> Gerardus confirmed that both men and women attended the friars’ services, but he assigned more blame to the attendance of the women for harming the parishes.

Other witnesses gave lists of defecting parishioners. The naming of names took on the quality of a witch-hunt. The second anonymous witness named many parishioners who he said went to mass at the friars, abandoning their parish churches.<sup>108</sup> From the parish of San Nicolò, he named Dominus Fr...us de Andito, Dominus Freventius and Antolinus de Filiis Agadis [one of the witnesses], Ubertus Vulpis de Andito, another de Andito, Grantius Ferracanus, Grazand de Andito, Roffinus his son, Jacobus his son and Henricus Ghinus his son. From the parish of San Iacobo, he named Dominus Jacobus Strictus, his brother Henricus, and Motus Strictus. And from the parish of San Faustino, he named Dominus Albertus Paganus and Ansaldus Ficianus.

Guillelmus only named Jacobus and Henricus Strictus and their wives, but he claimed that the maior pars of the parishioners left their churches for the friars.<sup>109</sup> Simon only knew the name of one parishioner, Fultus Malgarius, of San Nicolò.<sup>110</sup> Aço Medicus said specifically that he had seen the parishioners of Santa Maria de Cario, San Nicolò, San Iacobo and San Faustino attend the friars’ place but did not know their names.<sup>111</sup>

Antolinus, named by other witnesses, said that he knew the parishioners who defected, that they constituted the majority, and he named them.<sup>112</sup> From the parish of San Michele he named Dominus Armanus Pigugus, Octo Bagarotus, Magister Jacobus de Gravago, Philipus de Fillervis, Magister Lanfrancus Medicus, Albertus de Andito and Gerardus Becus de Andito. From the parish of San Nicolò he named Dominus Gucardus de

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Bardis et uxor montis Stricti omnis parrochie Sancti Iacobi predicti. Et uxor Iohannis de Iniquitate et est parrochie Sancti Faustini sive Sancti Donini.”

<sup>107</sup> Gerardus, f. 55, l. 31, cap. 11

<sup>108</sup> Anonymous B, f. 17, l. 12, cap. 21

<sup>109</sup> Guillelmus, f. 40, l. 30, cap. 20-21

<sup>110</sup> Simon, f. 27, l. 35, cap. 22

<sup>111</sup> Aço Medicus, f. 69, l. 10-13, cap. 20-22

<sup>112</sup> Antolinus, f. f. 45, l. 44, cap. 21

Andito, Roffinus his son, Ubertus and Dominus Fredentius de Andito. He included himself as one of the defecting members of the parish of San Nicolò. From the parish of San Faustino, he knew Albertus Paganus, Tomasius Ficianus, Guillermus de Bardo de Gravago, Ansaldus Ficianus, Guillermus de Bardo de Bravago and Ansaldus Ficianus. From San Iacobo he knew Andriolus and Montus Strictus. Finally, from the parish of Santa Maria, he named Ubertus Magister, Octo Fornarius, Guillermus de Speccenis, Vidomerius Dionisius de Bonefaciis and his brothers.

The focus on women and the extensive attention paid to the quantity of parishioners attracted to their convent recalls the scathing criticisms of William of Saint-Amour, whose 1256 *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum* accused the friars of targeting parishioners through their wives. In a recent study of the hostility toward the mendicants, G. Geltner described William's criticisms:

Their main strategy is to target gullible women, and through them gain access to their husbands' homes, pockets, and consciences. By offering personalized services, especially confession, these dangerous men are able to penetrate the homes of numerous people and sow heresy among them under the guise of a genuine apostolic life.<sup>113</sup>

William could easily have been describing Piacenza in 1282.

## DESTRUCTION OF PARISH HOMES

The friars not only poached parishioners, they also destroyed at least eleven parishioners' houses to build their convent. Several witnesses attested to the losses sustained by the parishes as a result of the destroyed homes.

Canonus listed three parishes that lost parishioners: Santa Maria de Cario, San Faustino, and San Iacobo. According to Canonus, these parishioners were lost because their houses were destroyed, though he was only able to remember Ubertino de Andito as a former resident. However, he made it clear that there were others, describing their houses as both one- and multi-story. He said that those parishioners would have owed their parish churches donations ("oblaciones que offeruntur ecclesiis.")<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> G. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>114</sup> Canonus, f. 33, l. 8-19, cap. 29

Gerardus referred to the *casamenta* that belonged to those churches that had been within the friars' precinct. He specified the kinds of donations, both charity offered on Sundays and masses sung for the dead ("Credit quod debebant et caritatem que fit diebus dominicis et alias oblationes debebant...pro vivis caritatem que fit diebus dominicis pro mortuis facere cantari missas.")<sup>115</sup>

Iohannes Zanarellus gave a matter-of-fact account of the problem facing the parish priests: "He well believes that if the place in question has been thus accused, it is because the priests of these churches used to receive many donations and usual alms that now they do not nor can they because the place in question is no longer inhabited by parishioners."<sup>116</sup> Iohannes was clear that no option remained for recuperating those lost funds because the houses where those parishioners lived were gone.

Guillelmus de Vigolo linked the loss of oblations with the destroyed houses in a response about the city gossip: the churches lost their tithes and other income they used to receive from their parishioners and the houses built in that place ("quod dicte ecclesie perdunt oblationes suas et alia bona que recipiebant a parrochianis suis et domus edificate in dicto loco.")<sup>117</sup> Antolinus indicated that the *vox et fama* about the destruction of parish homes was all over the city but particularly in the neighborhoods of the *Porta Sancti Antolini* and *Porta Sancti Laurenti*.<sup>118</sup> Despite the talk and all the legal action, the parishes were still ultimately faced with lost income.

## To the Detriment of the Parishes

Despite the opposition to their project and the attempt to derail it with a papal inquest, the Franciscans prevailed. Their popularity among certain segments of the population and the support provided by laymen was more than enough to withstand the threats, violence, and legal action leveled at them by the secular clergy. The reasons for the friars' popularity have been explained by many scholars; most fundamentally their prayers

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<sup>115</sup> Gerardus, f. 57, l. 37 – f. 58, l. 1, cap. 28

<sup>116</sup> "bene credit quod si dictus locus esset accusatus sicut iam fuit quod sacerdotes dictarum ecclesiarum haberent oblationes plures et caritates solitas quas nunc non habent nec habere possunt quia dictus locus non habitatur per vicinos." Iohannes Zanarellus, f. 80, l. 45, cap. 29

<sup>117</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo, f. 41, l. 16-17, cap. 30

<sup>118</sup> "In magna parte civitatem et specialiter in porta Sancti Antolini et in porta Sancti Laurenti." Antolinus, f. 47, l. 12-13, cap. 30

were considered to be more effective, a crucial factor for the Christian concerned about the fate of her soul as it awaited passage out of Purgatory.<sup>119</sup>

The characterization of the friars that emerges from the witnesses' depositions is one of an apparent disregard for the parishes surrounding their convent, as well as for the legal processes brought against them. While the recollections of the witnesses are certainly subjective, their accounts suggest that the friars acted without fear of serious reprisal. The parish system was no match for the mendicant model, which offered a more desirable product. The disposable wealth of the urban populations helped build the friars' convent at the expense of the parishioners' own former churches. The resources of the parish churches were exclusively dependent on those houses within their jurisdictions.

The loss of tithes to the Franciscans was devastating for the parishes because they were not flexible institutions like the Franciscans. The legates demonstrated a concern for these breaches in the parishes' prerogatives by interrogating the witnesses about the hierarchical structure of the local clergy, which established their vassalic dependence on the Cathedral. The witnesses described two basic relationships, one slightly more demanding than the other.

Vincentius explained the legal status of the churches of San Faustino and San Michele with respect to the Cathedral. Those churches, he explained, were vassals of the Cathedral and swore fealty, a relationship that required their attendance at the Cathedral during Advent and Lent ("sunt vassalli dicte ecclesie et quod iurant fidelitatem predicte Ecclesie.")<sup>120</sup> Iacobus also described the special hierarchical relationship of San Michele and San Faustino. He said that they were compelled to attend the Cathedral for mass and processions and that the stricture had been in place for more than thirty years.<sup>121</sup> They were

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<sup>119</sup> See Pellegrini, "Mendicanti e parroci: coesistenza e conflitti di due strutture organizzative della "cura animarum"."; Antonio Rigon, "Conflitti tra comuni e ordini mendicanti sulle realtà economiche," in *L'Economia dei conventi dei frati minori e predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento: atti del XXI Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 9-11 ottobre 2003*, ed. Italy) Società internazionale di studi francescani. Convegno internazionale (31st: 2003: Assisi, *Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2004). For Purgatory more generally see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

<sup>120</sup> Vincentius, f. 22, l. 40 – f. 23, l. 1-2, cap. 26

<sup>121</sup> Pres. Iacobus, f. 63, l. 9, cap. 25

subject to the cathedral in temporal and spiritual matters as well as in jurisdiction. He had seen the Cathedral place priests in those churches.

In contrast, the terms that bound the rest of the churches of Piacenza were less restrictive. Iacobus had seen priests assigned to those churches, swearing oaths to come to the Cathedral, as he and the priests of all the churches of Piacenza did. He explained that the requirement was to attend mass and vespers during solemn times, specifically at the hour when high mass was celebrated.<sup>122</sup> Canonus clarified the responsibilities the parish churches had to the Cathedral, including the requirement to obey Bishop and Chapter, and to attend certain services and processions.<sup>123</sup> Ubertus explained that the parishes were subject (*subiecto*) to the Chapter. He knew because he saw the parish priests obey the Chapter (“vidit presbiteros dictarum ecclesiarum obedire dicto capitulo”). He confirmed that San Faustino and San Michele were directly subject without mediation to the Cathedral in matters of jurisdiction.<sup>124</sup> Gerardus agreed that the parish churches of Piacenza were required to attend mass at the cathedral on the Sundays of Advent and Lent.<sup>125</sup>

It therefore seems that the Cathedral Chapter had a particularly strong investment in the churches of San Faustino and San Michele, which could explain why it was so problematic for those churches to lose their income. Antolinus gave detailed information regarding the responsibilities of San Michele and San Faustino to the Cathedral chapter, explaining that they were subject to the chapter “in temporalibus et spiritualibus et iurisdictione...in electionibus sacerdotum et in institutionibus et confirmationibus sacerdotum.”<sup>126</sup> One of Albertus’s primary connections with the site was that he had previously been the priest of the church of San Faustino, which made him familiar with the parish boundaries and the legal hierarchy of the church. He knew that San Faustino was “obediens dicto capitulo,” requiring that the parish attend the Cathedral for processions and

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<sup>122</sup> Pres. Iacobus, f. 63, l. 23-33, cap. 26

<sup>123</sup> Canonus, f. 32, l. 37-49, cap. 26

<sup>124</sup> Ubertus Reddemanus, f. 35, l. 14-24, cap. 25

<sup>125</sup> “Ad concelebrandum ut vidit ipse testis et dixit corrigendo dictum suum quod intelligit ubi dixit singulis diebus dominis de diebus dominicis de adventu et de quadragesima tantum.” Gerardus, f. 57, l. 31, cap. 26

<sup>126</sup> Antolinus, f. 46, l. 33-44, cap. 25

baptisms.<sup>127</sup> The Cathedral's loss of baptismal rights would certainly have been problematic, motivating its self-serving support for the parish churches' cause.

While biased in the opinions it presents, the dialectical structure of the inquest record provides a nuanced account of the changes the Piacentine community experienced as a result of the Franciscan convent. As an account of the major legal obstacle the Franciscans encountered, it provides documentation of their resistance to the action taken against them and their ultimate resilience, since they were successful in completing the church and convent. Although parroting widespread critiques of the mendicant orders, the witnesses described a situation in which older pastoral and economic structures deteriorated when confronted with the competition presented by the powerful Franciscans. The ramifications of that deterioration were felt from the lowest levels of parish church through the hierarchy to the city Cathedral and Chapter.

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<sup>127</sup> "subiecte in eundo ad processions et ad baptismata." Albertus, f. 78, l. 16-29, cap. 25

## *Chapter 3*

### URBAN REVISIONS

The Franciscan move to the city center initiated a larger shift in Piacenza's urban development. Prior to the convent's construction, the city's major religious complexes had been built at the periphery, close to the gates of principal transportation arteries. The construction of the convent and, three years later, the communal palace on a new central *platea* formed the first large-scale, civic-religious-mercantile complex in the city center.

The friars made construction possible in the densely populated residential area by demolishing numerous homes (and at least one bakery) in the jurisdictions of at least four parishes. In addition to their testimony about the economic and pastoral problems created by the Franciscans, witnesses in the inquest also described these urban interventions in great detail. Their testimony explains what existed on the site prior to its acquisition by the Franciscans, constituting the "before" narrative of the shift in scale from residential to monumental. The details they provided illustrate the density of the previous residents and, more importantly, the impact of their removal on the residents remaining in the immediate and surrounding neighborhoods.

The Franciscan-led urban reconfiguration was not merely a factor of their pastoral initiatives, but was also crucially tied to their political alliance with the newly configured commune. The shift to a merchant and banking economy contributed to the desirability of the Franciscan genre of piety, while the corresponding political reversal led to Ubertino de Andito's loss of his central property. The commune's political opposition to the previous owner of the land now occupied by the Franciscans was urbanistically reinforced in three significant ways: by the destruction of his palace and the residential neighborhood in which it had been located, Ubertino's relegation to his *castrum* at the periphery of the city, and the construction of a new communal palace close to the site of his former residential palace.

The local changes in political authority, modes of production, and pastoral function corresponding to the Franciscan surge in popularity thus caused a shift in trends of urban development. The project orchestrated by the Franciscans and the commune was completed by the civic *platea* between them. The *platea*, site of mercantile, notarial, and judicial

functions formed a new civic hub, anchored by the two monumental institutions. The concentration of these institutions drove the centripetal shift in the city's orientation.

## History of Peripheral Importance

The factors that generated and perpetuated the earlier urban pattern distinguish it from the characteristics of the new pattern. Throughout the Middle Ages, the pilgrimage and trade route known as either the Via Francigena or Via Romea, passed through the southern quadrants of the city. Several churches, hospices, and markets were founded along it. Neighborhoods and religious establishments also developed close to the gates leading to Milan, Cremona, Parma and Genoa. The Po River, coursing to the north of the city, while an important transportation route, attracted comparatively less urban development until the thirteenth century, when the land near the river was drained, fishing activity increased, and kilns used the river's clay to produce bricks and tiles (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup>

The Via Francigena was the main pilgrimage route from northern Europe (and the economically vital Champagne fairs) to Rome.<sup>2</sup> Piacenza was located along the stretch of road that followed the old Roman Via Emilia before deviating to the south through the Apennines on the Via di Monte Bardone.<sup>3</sup> The city was mentioned on the Francigena itinerary of the Irish pilgrim Saint Dunstan around 900.<sup>4</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury, Sigeric the Serious, also listed Piacenza as a stop on his pilgrimage in 990.<sup>5</sup> The city even

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<sup>1</sup> Racine, "Landi e Scotto," 38. For travel to the Champagne fairs see "Lo sviluppo," 82.

<sup>2</sup> The road itself has received attention, most recently: Luciana Frapiselli, *La via Francigena nel Medioevo da Monte Mario a San Pietro* (Rome: Bardi, 2003); *La Via Francigena: atti della giornata di studi: la Via Francigena dalla Toscana a Sarzana, attraverso il territorio di Massa e Carrara: luoghi, figure e fatti: Massa, 5 maggio 1996*. Biblioteca / Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche province modenesi (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1997); Renato Stopani, *La via Francigena. Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> *La via Francigena. Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo*, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> "Adventus Sigerici ad Romam," in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* (London: Longman & Co. and Trübner & Co, Paternoster Row, 1874). Sigeric's account describes the churches he visited in Rome and then includes a list of all of his stops on the road back to England. The text is also reproduced on pp. 117-18 of the "documentary appendix" in: *La via Francigena. Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo*. For more on the road, see Stella Patitucci Uggeri, "La via Francigena in Toscana," in *La via Francigena e altre strade della Toscana Medievale*, ed. Stella Patitucci Uggeri, *Quaderni di archeologia medievale* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2004), 24, 27. Patitucci Uggeri's work focuses on the road's course through Tuscany, but her discussion includes Sigeric's entire route through northern Italy, mentioning Piacenza in particular. Her reconstruction of the road's course on page 83 highlights Piacenza's location as the last outpost before crossing the Apennines. See also Stopani, *La via Francigena. Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo*; Konrad Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart: Strecker und



appeared in some of the chivalric poetry of the twelfth century on journeys between Tuscany and France in both the Chevalerie d'Ogier de Danemarche, as well as the Destruction de Rome.<sup>6</sup> References to Piacenza continued in twelfth-century travel narratives, including that of Philip Augustus, who passed through on his return from the crusades in 1191, referring to Piacenza as a civitatem episcopalem.<sup>7</sup> It is also mentioned in the travel diary of the Icelandic abbot Nikulas of Munkathvera (travelled 1151-54).<sup>8</sup> Nikulas's account provided details about Piacenza's location within the network of medieval roads. He noted that he crossed the Po at Piacenza where travelers along the route he had taken across the Alps, the Saint Bernard Pass, met up with those who had taken the other major Alpine pass, the Moncenisio.<sup>9</sup> The confluence of these routes meant that the majority of travelers coming from northern Europe had to pass through Piacenza.

The growth of Piacenza along the Francigena was most significant during the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>10</sup> The southwestern neighborhood known as the Borgo, where urban merchants and artisans clustered, grew around the church of Santa Brigida.<sup>11</sup> The Borgo would increase in importance as the site of the merchant organization's headquarters.<sup>12</sup> Markets for textiles and finished goods participated in the neighborhood's growth in population and importance into the later Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup>

Several major religious institutions claimed the rest of the city's mercantile districts. The capitular church of Sant'Antonino in the southeast held a market and also hosted the

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Schröder, 1916), c. 227; Pier Luigi Dall'Aglia, "La via Aemilia tra Parma e Placentia," *Padusa XXIII* (1987); Bernardo Pallastrelli, "Il porto e il ponte sul Po presso Piacenza," *Archivio storico lombardo* IV (1877); Pierre Racine, "Poteri medievali e percorsi fluviali nell'Italia padana," *Quaderni storici* n.s. 61 (1986); P. Tozzi, "Gli antichi caratteri di Placentia," in *Storia di Piacenza*, vol. I (1990); Marcello Spigaroli and Anna Zaninoni, "Il secondo medioevo," in *Piacenza: La città e le piazze*, ed. Marcello Spigaroli (Piacenza: Tip: edizioni d'arte, 2000), 27. Racine, "Anno mille," 36.

<sup>6</sup> Stopani, *La via Francigena. Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo*, 43-52.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 68. Stopani reproduces the text on page 123.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 56. Text reproduced pp. 118-122. Reference to Piacenza on p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 56, 79.

<sup>10</sup> Racine, "La città nel XIII secolo," 211. For more on the city's urban trends towards the periphery in the early Middle Ages, see Spigaroli and Zaninoni, "Il secondo medioevo," 9 and following. The foundations of these churches are recorded in Campi.

<sup>11</sup> "Il secondo medioevo," 18.

<sup>12</sup> Anna Zaninoni, "Piazze e mercati a Piacenza (secoli IX-XV)," in *Spazio urbano e organizzazione economica nell'Europa medievale. Atti della sessione C23 Eleventh International Economic History Congress Milano 12-16 settembre, 1994*, ed. A. Grohmann (Perugia: Università degli studi di Perugia, 1994), 274.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 273, 275.

early communal assemblies until 1179.<sup>14</sup> The cathedral, located on a former canal along the city's eastern edge, was the site of a daily wine and fish market, with specialty goods sold on Saturdays.<sup>15</sup> The church of San Giovanni Evangelista, located on the Cathedral piazza, was destroyed at the end of the twelfth century to enlarge the piazza for the market.<sup>16</sup> The bishop controlled all city markets, with the exception of those held at the imperially founded Benedictine monastery of San Sisto, which was exempt from Episcopal control.<sup>17</sup> San Sisto held an annual fair in addition to weekly markets.

Several ports on the Po close to Piacenza brought in revenue from tolls. The city's location was doubly important for being at the confluence of the Via Francigena and the Po. Several scholars have noted the importance of the city's main ports as early as the eighth century.<sup>18</sup> To the west, one port was located at the Po's junction with the Lambro River, flowing south from Lombardy.<sup>19</sup> The second port, called either the Porta Grande or Porta alla Romea, was situated where the Via Francigena/Via Emilia crossed the Po after exiting the city to the west at the Porta Milanese (today the Porta Borghetto).<sup>20</sup> San Sisto also controlled a port along the Po, where it met the Trebbia River flowing north from the mountains.<sup>21</sup> The monastery of Santa Giulia in Brescia controlled another port just north of the city.<sup>22</sup> Finally, the Bishop controlled a port called Codaletto to the east.<sup>23</sup> Control over the ports as the loci of trade meant profits for those institutions. The multitude of ports suggests competition and an abundance of merchants. Adding to the importance of

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<sup>14</sup> Racine, "La città nel XIII secolo," 211.

<sup>15</sup> Spigaroli and Zaninoni, "Il secondo medioevo," 44-46; Zaninoni, "Piazze e mercati," 278.

<sup>16</sup> "Piazze e mercati," 279. This church may have functioned as either a second cathedral building or a baptistery.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 272.

<sup>18</sup> Racine, "Poteri medievali e percorsi fluviali nell'Italia padana."; Stopani, *La via Francigena. Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo*, 25; Pallastrelli, "Il porto e il ponte sul Po presso Piacenza."; Arrigo Solmi, "Le diete imperiali di Roncaglia e la navigazione fluviale del Po presso Piacenza," *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi* (1910); Emilio Nasalli Rocca, "Il porto e il ponte del Po a Piacenza," *La Regione Emilia-Romagna* 2 (1951).

<sup>19</sup> Solmi, "Le diete imperiali di Roncaglia e la navigazione fluviale del Po presso Piacenza."

<sup>20</sup> Racine makes the connection of the modern Porta Borghetto with the medieval Porta Milanese in Racine, "La città nel XIII secolo," 214. Solmi and Stopani refer to the road departing through the Porta Borghetto. Stopani, *La via Francigena. Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo*, 26.

<sup>21</sup> Zaninoni, "Piazze e mercati," 267-70.

<sup>22</sup> Racine, "Anno mille," 36.

<sup>23</sup> Stopani, *La via Francigena. Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo*, 26.

Piacenza's location, pontoon bridges spanned the Po, using the small island north of the city to break the span into two segments.<sup>24</sup>

The city walls gradually expanded to include the neighborhoods growing around the periphery. The first medieval walls of 872 roughly retraced the Roman castrum.<sup>25</sup> Walls built between 1139 and 1156 incorporated suburbs that had developed during the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>26</sup> During his 1158 campaign in Lombardy, Frederick Barbarossa besieged Piacenza and destroyed these walls.<sup>27</sup> A Milanese engineer, Alemanno de Guitelmo, began work on a new set of walls in 1197.<sup>28</sup> By 1238, further expansion of the walls was necessary. (Figure 25)

## Revisions of Scale: Neighborhood Erasure

Within the walls, the city was organized into six porte. The porte were large neighborhoods associated with the six city gates and the corresponding urban space moving toward the city center in roughly pie-shaped slices. The six porte were Porta Gariverta, Porta Nuova, Porta Milanese, Porta Santa Brigida, Porta San Lorenzo and Porta Sant'Antonino. The units of the city's consilio generale (the representative government) corresponded to these six zones.

Smaller units, called vicinanze, subdivided the porte. The vicinanza was synonymous with a parish or neighborhood. Racine has argued that the vicinanza was the key unit of community identity, which would explain why the defections from those communities to the

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> For the walls of 872, see the transcription of the archival document in Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*, Tome 1, p. 460.

<sup>26</sup> Zaninoni, "Piazze e mercati," 277. For the primary sources of the walls of 1139 and 1156, see RRISS, XVI, col. 612 and Boselli, *Delle storie piacentine*. Tome 1, p. 90, respectively. They are not in Codagnello, which is the primary chronicle source for the period up to 1235. Codagnello was an official notary for the commune, recorded as such in several documents from the period between 1199 and 1230. His chronicle is preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, MS *Paris. Lat.* 4931, under the title *Annales Placentini*. It is alternatively known as *Chronicon Placentinum* by the nineteenth-century editors Huillard-Bréholles and Pallastrelli, while the MGH editor, Pertz, calls it the *Annales Placentini Guelfi* to distinguish it from the *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, which will be my primary chronicle of reference for the period at hand.

<sup>27</sup> "...et die festo sancti Martini proximo venit in comitatu Placentie in loco qui Medianus iniquitatis dicitur, suaque ibi tentoria fixit, et obsides Placentie primo tunc habuit, et tunc eiusdem civitatis tures destuere fecit." "Annales placentini," 412.

<sup>28</sup> "1196. Indictione 15. Mense Ianuarii fossata nova fuerunt palificata et terminata et ordinata per Alamannum de Guitelmo encignerium comunis Mediolani, existentibus consulibus Alberico Vicedomno, Oberto Vicecomite, Rainerio de Cario, Antonio de Fontana, Rainaldo Surdo, Oberto Scorpionio de Porta, Gerardo Stricto. 3. Kal. Madii proximi predicta fossata fuerunt incepta." Ibid., 419. Zaninoni, "Piazze e mercati," 280; Racine, "La città nel XIII secolo," 212.

Franciscans caused such social turbulence. Racine claimed that vicinanze were more important than the *pieve*, or baptismal church, which incorporated a larger population and was therefore less central to one's local identity.<sup>29</sup> Several witnesses self-identified with a *vicinia* during the interrogation, often referring to themselves and others as the *vicinos* of particular parishes. Interference with parish function was one of the central complaints lodged against the Franciscans during the inquest. The community rupture signaled an important change in the parishioners' relationship to the city. The Franciscan complex usurped neighborhood identity by offering the same activities the parish churches did and rendering them more spectacularly on a larger scale. The resistance to the Franciscans' new church thus stemmed not only from their encroachment on the parishes' livelihood, but also from their undermining of the traditional structures of urban life.

The inquest of 1282 offers detailed insight by the parishioners surrounding the new Franciscan church regarding the neighborhood erasure and the redesign of urban scale orchestrated by the Franciscans and the construction of their new church. Their testimony explains exactly which houses in which parishes were destroyed and which remained, allowing an approximation of the reduction of parishioners to the remaining parish churches struggling to compete with the popular new Franciscan convent.

The papal legates tried to establish the precedence of the parish structure by asking the witnesses how long parishes had been defined by the land now occupied by the Franciscans. Their answers ranged from ten years to more than a hundred years. In one of the instances where the witnesses appeared to respond to a template, Magister Aço Medicus said that he believed that the site had been and was still located within the boundaries of the parishes for "ten, thirty, forty, sixty and more years" (he lists the numbers).<sup>30</sup> Several responses gave similar lists of numbers, evocative of an auction. Sometimes a witness gave a single number, as magister Rolandus Zumignanus did, saying that the site had been located there for one hundred years.<sup>31</sup> Dominus Antolinus, who responded that the location was within the parish limits for "ten, twenty, thirty, forty or more years," added that he knew

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<sup>29</sup> "La città nel XIII secolo," 216.

<sup>30</sup> Aço Medicus, f. 67, l. 12-14

<sup>31</sup> Rolandus Zumignanus, f. 65, l. 26-28

because “he had always seen [them] and he had been born in the aforementioned vicinanza of San Nicolò.”<sup>32</sup> These attestations of knowledge regarding the witnesses’ familiarity with the parish history appear to gauge their reliability as much as the actual length of time the parishes had been in their present locations.

The most physically obvious way the Franciscans disrupted the parish system was through their destruction of homes on the site that became their convent. The vicinanze were close architecturally as well as socially, encompassing very small areas about the size of a city block. By inserting itself on top of significant portions of four parishes, the convent slashed the residential area of those four neighborhoods in half.. [?] Was this done? What is the evidence. Stick to what you can document. Remaining houses were newly overshadowed by the monumental complex; neighborhood scale was erased. The success of the new complex manifested the permanence of the city’s economically ambitious merchants.

Because the inquest of 1282 contained answers to questions about the location of the friars’ convent—its distance from the surrounding parishes and the composition of those parishes—a schematic reconstruction of the parishes before the urban renewal is possible. In addition, witnesses named parishioner homes in relation to parish boundaries, lists of those who abandoned their parish for the friars, and those whose houses were destroyed by the friars in order to build their convent. On the basis of such references, it is possible to formulate reasonable hypotheses visualizing the alterations of the city center. Understanding the space where the controversy unfolded provides a frame for analysis of urban and parochial shifts these neighborhoods experienced. The churches, their jurisdictions, and the Franciscan convent occupied a dense, central, urban area. In addition to identifying the houses the friars destroyed, the maps indicate the proximity of the remaining houses to the monumental convent.

Capitulum 1 of the inquest record establishes the exact location of the convent between two major city streets, on the former property of Ubertino de Andito, and lists the parishes into which it was inserted (Appendix D). Each witness began their testimony with

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<sup>32</sup> *Dominus* Antolinus, *capituli* 3-4, f. 43, l. 10 “*semper vidit et natus fuit in dicto vicinanza Sancti Nicolay.*”

this capitulum, listing the jurisdictions of as many as six parishes. These statements followed a pattern which is evident in the testimony of presbiter Vincentius:

The place in which *Dominus* Ubertinus de Andito used to have his house, between the confines of the *via de supramuro* and another *via publica* that runs between the Cathedral and the house of *Dominus* Raynaldus Salimbene, where the *podestà* of Piacenza resides, is located within the boundaries of the parishes of San Faustino, San Iacobo, Santa Maria de Cario, San Nicolò dei Figli Agadi.<sup>33</sup>

The crucial information is found in the final clause, which defines the site's parochial jurisdiction: "situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum Sancti Faustini Sancti Iacobi Sancte Marie de Cario et Sancti Nicolay de Filiis Agadis." These four vicinanze were most affected by the friars' convent. Eight witnesses named the same four churches as Vincentius, five others added San Michele to the list, while presbiter Canonus named only three, omitting or forgetting San Nicolò (Figures 26-32).

We can correlate San Francesco's present location with the one described in the inquest because the streets are in the same location. Via Sopramuro still has the same name, deriving from what was once the edge of the city's Roman castrum.<sup>34</sup> The second street, the *via Publica*, and known into the twentieth century as the *via diritta*, coincides with the modern Via XX Settembre, which still begins at the cathedral as described by the witnesses. One problem posed by the descriptions is that witnesses rarely used cardinal directions to refer to buildings. They sometimes located the buildings they described in relation to no longer extant buildings. Thus, the major streets are the most useful indicators of building locations. Witnesses often described buildings as *infra* to refer to those within the friars' cortina, *extra* for outside it, and *iuxta* for next to it. While different witnesses tended to emphasize different buildings, they were relatively consistent in their use of these labels to describe them.

The magistri Çumignanus and Iacobus de Berçano had the vaguest responses about the parish boundaries, and were the only witnesses to name six, suggesting that those six

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<sup>33</sup> Vincentius, f. 19, l. 15-19: *Quod locus in quo consuevit domus Dominus Ubertinus de Andito qui est positus infra hos confines videlicet viam de Supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maior ad domum Domini Raynaldi Salimbeni in qua moratur potestas Comunis Placentie est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum Sancti Faustini Sancti Iacobi Sancte Marie de Cario et Sancti Nicolay de Filiis Agadis*

<sup>34</sup> The Roman *castrum* had been outgrown for centuries at the time of the construction of the church. There had been several more iterations of walls since then, all significantly to the south, incorporating the city's zones of expansion. Racine, "La città nel XIII secolo," 209-215.

were the ones the legates included in their template: the five most often mentioned by witnesses with the addition of San Donino (Figure 26). San Donino was buffered from the friars by the parish of San Faustino. These six could have been listed on the template, presented to the witnesses as multiple choice options. Cumignanus made the following statement:

“That the place in question...is close to the churches of San Donino, San Nicolò dei Figli Agadi, San Michele, Santa Maria de Cario, San Iacobo de Supramuro and San Faustino. He cannot distinguish how far the site is from those churches and does not know whether it is within their boundaries or not because he does not know the boundaries.”<sup>35</sup>

He did not use the language of “*infra limites parrochiarum*,” (within parish boundaries) as the other witnesses did but instead described the site as “close to the churches” the legates had asked about (*prope ecclesias...*). Iacobus de Berçano was similarly reluctant to comment definitively about the parish boundaries, claiming that,

“He does not know the boundaries of the parish churches of San Nicolò dei Figli Agadi, San Michele, Santa Maria de Cario, San Iacobo de Supramuro, San Faustino and San Donino, nor does he know if the place where the house of *Dominus* Ubertinus de Andito used to be, located between the *via de Supramuro* and the *via publica* that runs from the Cathedral to the house of *Dominus* Raynaldus Salimbene where the *podestà* of the commune of Piacenza resides, is located within the boundaries of the aforementioned parishes because he is not a neighbor (*vicinus*) of those churches.”<sup>36</sup>

Like Cumignanus, Iacobus denied any knowledge of the parish boundaries or the friars’ land because, he explained, he was not a parishioner (*vicinus*) of those churches. The imprecise information in both Cumignanus and Iacobus’s statements, coupled with their naming of more churches than the other witnesses, suggests that they were simply repeating back six options provided to them, in contrast with responses like that of Vincentius.

The rest of the building magistri did not provide much additional information, presumably because they were not neighborhood locals. It follows that they would not have had the same depth of information as those witnesses whose parishes bordered the disputed area.

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<sup>35</sup> *Quod dictus locus ... est prope ecclesias sancti donini et sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti michaelis sancte marie de cario et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini et nescit bene distinguere quantum dictus locus distat a ss.tis ecclesiis et nescit an dictus locus sit situs infra limites dictarum ecclesiarum an extra quia nescit ipsos limites.*

<sup>36</sup> Iacobus de Berzano, f. 74, l. 37-44: “...nescit terminos parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum Sancti Nicolay de Filiis Agadis Sancti Michaelis Sancte Marie de Cario Sancti Iacobi de Supramuro Sancti Faustini Sancti Donini et ideo nescit dicere si locus in quo consuevit esse domus Domini Ubertini de Andito qui est positus infra hos confines videlicet inter viam de Supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab Ecclesia Maiori usque ad domum Domini Raynaldi Salimbene in qua moratur potestas comunis placentia sit situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum quia non est vicinus ipsarum ecclesiarum.”

Nevertheless, the magistri Rolandus, Aço Medicus, Iohannes de Christiana, and Iohannes Zanarellus were aware that the convent was within the jurisdictions of the parishes. Magister Iohannes de Christiana explained that he knew from other people that the convent was located within those parishes (“quod dicitur publice per gentem et esse quod credit ipse testis et aliter nescit quia nescit bene limites ipsarum ecclesiarum,”) reiterating in a later response that he knew from people around those churches “...per gentem circumstantem dictis ecclesiis.” Although he said that he did not know the parishes very well, he still used the language of parish boundaries (limites parrochiarum).<sup>37</sup>

Supplemental questioning following the opening statements to capitulum I sought to define parish boundaries more explicitly and to establish each witness’s degree of familiarity with the topography of the neighborhood. The locations of the witnesses’ parish churches and those under scrutiny in the trial may be mapped (Figure 26). As might be expected, the witnesses tended to offer the most detailed information about their own parishes, neighboring ones, and other parishes with which they had some affiliation. For example, Domini Antolinus and Roffinus were both from the parish of San Nicolò and their information focused on that parish and on Santa Maria de Cario, which bordered it to the west (Figure 2). On the other side of the convent, Presbiter Albertus, who had formerly been the priest at San Faustino, offered the most information about that parish and about San Iacobo next door.

The testimony of the presbiters Ubertus Reddemanus, Gerardus, and Albertus, and the laymen Domini Roffinus de Andito and Antolinus de Filiis Agadis provide the best topographical information about the site (Figures 27-32). Their information came from their direct knowledge of the parish boundaries as well as their familiarity with the parishioners. Presbiter Simon claimed he knew the site belonged to those parishes because he saw “houses that used to go to those churches” (domos que ibant ad dictas ecclesias).<sup>38</sup> The houses that had been located on the site of the new Franciscan convent were thus easily identifiable by their residents. Simon further elaborated that he knew the boundaries from the parish

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<sup>37</sup> Iohannes de Christiana, f. 71, l. 38-42

<sup>38</sup> Simon, f. 24, l. 12



priests as well as the churches' neighbors (per presbiteros qui fuerunt in dictis ecclesiis et per vicinos ipsarum ecclesiarum).

Two witnesses gauged the approximate distances of the convent to the surrounding parish churches. The second anonymous witness estimated that the church of San Faustino was about ten brachia from the friars' convent (4.69 meters or just over 15 feet). He also estimated the degree of distance between the convent and each of the churches that claimed damage: San Faustino was the closest, followed by San Nicolò, then Santa Maria de Cario. His identification of the parish of San Faustino as the closest parish corresponds to the reconstructed plan of the area. San Faustino also suffered the greatest loss in terms of destroyed houses.<sup>39</sup> Magister Iacobus also estimated the distances of these churches from the friars' site. He claimed that the church of Santa Maria was at a distance of 40 brachia (18.76 meters), San Nicolò at 30 brachia (14.7 meters), and San Faustino at only 8 brachia (3.752 meters—even closer than the estimate made by the second anonymous witness). Iacobus's description of the distance to San Iacobo was as far as one hand could throw a small stone (just a stone's throw away).

Antolinus noted specifically the noise experienced by Santa Maria de Cario and San Faustino. These two parishes would have been along the convent's northern and southern flanks, while the other three were along the east side, with less of their boundaries touching the site, so Iacobus's estimation of the most disturbed parishes was most likely accurate.<sup>40</sup>

Two witnesses provided useful summaries of the destruction and change. The second anonymous witness recalled that there had been eleven houses (very close to the number we get from reconstructing all the individual houses mentioned in the other witnesses' testimony), some one-story (plane) and some multiple-story (in salario).<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Chapter 27

<sup>40</sup> Chapter 27

<sup>41</sup> Second anonymous witness, f. l. "Int. quote era(n)t domus que era(n)t in p(re)dicto loco. Resp. q(ui)d erant Vndecim domus Int. si ille dom(us) dom(us) erant plane ul(ter) in salario Resp. qd tales era(n)t solerate et tales era(n)t in plane Int. que era(n)t confinia d(ic)tar(um) domo(rum) et cui( )libet ear(um) Resp. qd erant via que appellat(ur) d(el) supramuro et via p(er) qua itur ad domus pot placent(iam) ab ecclesia maior et quedam vicola q(ue) veniebat a p(re)dicta via d(el) supramuro et domus illor(um) d(e) bonafatiis in parte et i(n) parte Cano(n)ici"

Dominus Roffinus de Andito, who self-identified as a vicinus of San Nicolò, claimed the label as the basis for his knowledge about the parishes. Whereas other witnesses tended to return logistical details in response to the legates' question, "What are and were the boundaries of these churches?" (Qui sunt et fuerunt limites cuidlibet predicta ecclesiarum?), Roffinus gave the following response:

The boundaries are those which the aforementioned churches border with the site in question. That is, certain houses of the parishes of San Nicolò and Santa Maria de Cario are located within the [friars'] site. Certain houses of San Iacobo and San Faustino that were destroyed are likewise within that site.<sup>42</sup>

Rather than describe the location of parish boundaries in geographical details, Roffinus explained that certain destroyed houses had defined those boundaries. His conception of the parishes was bound up in the specter of lost neighborhoods.

Because the parish of San Nicolò and its church did not survive into the sixteenth century, its precise location is difficult to establish. In his reconstruction of Piacenza's medieval churches in the *Storia di Piacenza*, Racine assigned an approximate location to the area northeast of the convent.<sup>43</sup> Armando Siboni suggested a location approximately at the intersection of Via San Giuliano and Via XX Settembre (Via Publica) (Figure 27).<sup>44</sup> Their estimations placed San Nicolò farther east than the church of San Michele. In the inquest, Antolinus differentiated San Michele from the other churches involved in the suit, saying that, unlike the others, its parish was buffered from the Franciscans by a street. It therefore seems unlikely that any of the other churches involved in the suit would have been farther than San Michele, which was rarely mentioned by the witnesses. San Nicolò, on the other hand, was twice called the second closest of the churches named.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources offer a few descriptions that support a reconstruction of San Nicolò's location as closer to the friars' convent than the reconstructions of Racine and Siboni. Pier Maria Campi, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica di*

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<sup>42</sup> Roffinus de Andito, capitulum 1, f. 51: "Limites sunt isti quia predictae ecclesie confinant cum predicto loco scilicet quod quedam domus SS. ecclesie Sancti Nicolay et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Cario sunt infra dictum locum. Et quedam domus Sanctorum Iacobi et Faustini que fuerunt destructe sunt simili in dicto loco."

<sup>43</sup> Racine, "La città nel XIII secolo."

<sup>44</sup> Armando Siboni, *Le antiche chiese monasteri ed ospedali della città di Piacenza (aperte, chiuse, scomparse)* (Piacenza, 1986). Downloaded PDF from [www.piacenzaeprovincia.eu](http://www.piacenzaeprovincia.eu) accessed 7/10/11. Their source was Siboni.

Piacenza, described San Nicolò as a church “that formerly [was] along the strada diritta not far from San Michele...”<sup>45</sup> He also said that it was “not far from the aforementioned Santa Maria, ... it used to be located along the street that leads to the Duomo.”<sup>46</sup> The parish of Santa Maria de Cario was most likely located to the west of San Nicolò because witnesses described the house of Raynaldus Salimbene (Position 1, Figures 27-28) as a boundary of the parish of Santa Maria. The witnesses also described the “via publica” to the north of the friars’ convent running between the cathedral to the east and the house of Raynaldus to the west. If Salimbene’s house marked the western extremity of the parish of Santa Maria and the via publica north of the convent, the house was probably also to the west of San Nicolò. The hypothesis that San Nicolò lay to the east of Santa Maria is strengthened by Campi’s further suggestion that San Nicolò was also close to San Michele, whose location is known to have been to the east of San Francesco. Thus, San Nicolò was probably along the main street, west of San Michele, and east of Santa Maria.

In their descriptions of the parish boundaries of San Nicolò, the witnesses named five buildings (Figure 28). All the buildings they described seem to have been located within the boundaries of the convent, which the witnesses differentiated by the phrases “infra dictum locum” or “in dicto loco.” Since the parish of Santa Maria occupied the western half of the convent’s north side, these houses in the parish of San Nicolò were probably located around the church’s east end. A few witnesses mentioned a *viaçolam* that ran to the east of the friars’ property, indicated by the dotted gray line on the map. The convent’s eastern border probably did not extend as far to the east as Via Felice Frasi, which would have been the eastern border of the parish of San Nicolò.<sup>47</sup>

Antolinus, who resided in the parish of San Nicolò, provided the most extensive description of its boundaries. His testimony cited the parish limits starting from the house (a

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<sup>45</sup> Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*, volume 1, p. 356. “che altrevolte sù la strada diritta non lungi da S. Michele veder si soleva...”

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., volume 3, p. 4. “chiesa non lungi dalla detta di S. Maria, posta già sù la strada, che guida al Duomo.”

<sup>47</sup> It is not impossible that the convent previously extended that far east, however the extent of the convent indicated in my reconstruction reflects the only evidence we have for its dimensions prior to the demolition of the convent in the twentieth century, from a plan drawn at the time of the Napoleonic suppression of the monasteries at the beginning of the nineteenth century. ASPc, *Mappe e Disegne*

domo) of Dominus Ubertus Budellus and extending as far as the property (ad casamentum) of Dominus Maruchius de Andito and the property (ad casamentum) of Dominus Ubertinus de Andito.<sup>48</sup> He referred specifically to Ubertino's house (domum que fuit predicti Domini Ubertini) as the defining boundary of the parish, rather than just his casamentum.<sup>49</sup> The distinction is important because it suggests that Ubertinus had a house on the land that was passed to the friars and that he was not simply a landlord.

Antolinus's use of the phrase "infra dictum locum" to describe these boundaries suggests that he meant they were within the friars' precinct. It therefore appears that those houses framed the convent's east side (Ubertus Budellus at number 5) at the northeast corner of the friars' property (Maruchius de Andito at number 3) and along the north side (Ubertinus de Andito at number 1). The reconstruction places Ubertinus de Andito's house at the western boundary because of the relationship with the parish of Santa Maria de Cario, reflected in his will, which also places him closer to the other de Andito residences.

The significance of Antolinus's verb tenses is worth examining. In his response to the first question, he used the past tense to refer to a house that used to belong to Domini Ubertini ("domum que fuit"). But his second response describing the parish boundaries in greater detail remained in the present tense, though it seems almost certain that those buildings were destroyed because he also described them as "infra dictum locum." Since Ubertino's house had been destroyed, Antolinus's use of the present tense does not necessarily imply an extant building and could simply signify where the parish boundaries used to extend, or should still extend.

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<sup>48</sup> Interrogavit: Qui sunt et fuerunt limites cuidlibet predictarum ecclesiarum et quantum et qualiter protenduntur limites cuidlibet predictarum ecclesiarum et de confinibus seu terminis cuidlibet earum distinguendo confines et limites cuidlibet ab altaris?

Respondit: Quod limites et confines ecclesie Sancti Nicolay predicti protenduntur usque ad domum que fuit predicti Domini Ubertini

Int: Ubi incipiunt et finiunt dicti limites?

Resp: Limites ecclesie Sancti Nicolay incipiunt a domo Domini Uberti Budelli et finiunt ad casamentum Domini Maruchii de Andito et ad casamentum dicti Domini Ubertini de Andito et sunt infra dictum locum.

<sup>49</sup> The distinction is subtle but important. According to the *Glossario Latino Emiliano*, edited by Pietro Sella, the *casamentum* was the property on which buildings could be constructed as in a "*casamentum cum casa*" from the Chartae Imolense,, II, p. 378 1189, or "*casamenta cum domibus*" from the Annales Bolognesi, II, II, p. 13, 1221, "*casamentum terre positum in civitate*," Chartae Studii Bononiensi, I, p. 193, 1271, or most specific of the examples, "*casamentum super quo consueverat esse una domus plana cuperta de cupis*" from the Chartae Studii Bononiensi, III, p. 256, 1341

Ubertus, Gerardus, and Albertus each contributed the name of one resident of San Nicolò. Ubertus Reddemanus described the parish's boundaries extending to the bakery that belonged to the de Aidochis, now inside the convent ("Et limites ecclesie Sancti Nicolay protenduntur usque ad furnum qui fuit illorum de Aidochis qui furnus est infra dictum locum.") Ubertus, like Antolinus, used the past tense to describe the bakery's ownership but the present to refer to its location (est infra dictum locum). Gerardus also referred to the bakery, but used the past tense both for its ownership (furnum qui solitus erat cuiusdam qui vocabatur Bacilus) and location (erat dictus furnus in dicto loco).<sup>50</sup>

Gerardus's language makes clear that the bakery had been destroyed. His distinctive usage of the past tense was maintained throughout his testimony, in places where other witnesses lapsed into present, underlining that the other witnesses probably did not mean to suggest that the buildings were still there. In the reconstruction, the bakery is located to the east of Ubertino's property because it was twice referred to as the limit of the parish of San Nicolò. Since we know Ubertino's property was on the boundary with the parish of Santa Maria, it seems logical that the bakery could have been confused for the edge of the parish. Albertus, who was least familiar with the parish of San Nicolò, only knew the name of one parishioner, Iacobus de Andengus, whose house was within the friars' property ("Et infra limites Sancti Nicolay est dictus locus esse in quod credit ipse testis tantum per unam domum que fuit Iacobi de Andengo que domus erat in dicto loco.") The second anonymous witness also recalled the house of Iacobus Andengus.

In addition to asking about the parishioners whose houses were subsumed and destroyed by the friars, the legates also asked which parishioners had abandoned their parishes for the friars. These names constitute the residents in the rest of the parishes. The blank beige spaces on the map represent hypothetical locations for these houses but without speculation as to who might have lived where, since no locational information was offered about them.

Because the church of Santa Maria de Cario survives under a later dedication to Sant'Apollonia just north of San Francesco's east end, less speculation is necessary to

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<sup>50</sup> *Quod limites ecclesie Sancti Nicolay predicti protenduntur usque ad furnum qui solitus erat cuiusdam qui vocabatur Bacilus et erat dictus furnus in dicto loco.*

reconstruct its historical boundaries. The parish probably extended to the west of the church in the area north of San Francesco, encompassing part of the northwest quadrant of the complex (Figure 29). The location of the house of the podestà Raynaldus Salimbene helps establish the parish boundary at the western terminus of the *via publica*. Since the convent was consistently described with the *strada diritta*, or *via publica*, as its northern boundary, and Salimbene's house constituted the west end of that street, the house was probably just northwest of the convent (Position 6, Figure 29). In contrast to the way the witnesses described San Nicolò's borders using only buildings inside the Franciscan site, they defined Santa Maria's borders using some buildings that remained outside the convent, and thus survived the convent's construction. These buildings were distinguished with the phrases "*extra dictum locum*" or "*iuxta dictum locum*."

Antolinus described one of Santa Maria de Cario's boundaries beginning at the house of Salimbene and terminating within the friars' site ("*Et limites ecclesie Sancte Marie de Cario incipiunt a domo in qua moratur Dominis Raynaldus Salimbeni et finiunt infra dictum locum.*") Since the *via publica* terminated at that house, it can be logically assumed that the house was the western edge of Santa Maria. Since Antolinus stated that the boundary began at Raynaldus's and ended within the friars' land, the boundary probably ran north to south.

The testimonies of Antolinus and Ubertus Reddemanus establish the southeastern boundaries of the parish of Santa Maria, abutting Antolinus's own parish of San Nicolò. Antolinus described the domum of Dominus Villanus de Andito outside (*extra*) the convent, which would have located it north of the *via publica*: ("*Et limites Sancte Marie predicte protenduntur usque ad domum Domini Villani de Andito que domus est extra dictum locum.*") Ubertus was probably describing a similar area of the parish when indicating the house of Dominus Dionisius de Bonefaciis ("*Limites ecclesie Sancte Marie de Cario protenduntur usque ad domum Domini Dionisii de Bonefaciis qui dicitur patronus que domus est iuxta dictum locum.*")<sup>51</sup> He was apparently not referring to the northern boundaries of the parish, but those next to the church, since he described the house as *iuxta* the convent. The house he described was presumably somewhere along the *via publica* north

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<sup>51</sup> Ubertus Reddemanus, *capitulum* I, f. 34

of the convent, far enough from his own parish of San Protaso to seem to him a viable eastern boundary, while still next to the friars' convent. It is likely that Antolinus's idea of the parish's edge was better since he was a closer neighbor to that border than Ubertus, so it can be assumed that Villanus de Andito's house was slightly farther east than Dionisius's.

Gerardus described two houses that defined the southern boundary of the parish and were therefore inside the friars' convent: those of Domini Guillelmus and Nicolay de Andito ("Et limites ecclesie Sancte Marie de Cario protenduntur usque ad domum que fuit domini Guillelmi de Andito et usque ad domum Domini Nicolay de Andito que domus erant solute esse in dicto loco.") Gerardus's precise language leaves little doubt about their or their location, describing the boundaries "extending up to the house that used to belong to Guillelmus de Andito and up to the house of Nicolay de Andito, which used to be within the friars' precinct." It is logical that Gerardus would have known the south edge of Santa Maria de Cario because his own parish of Sant'Ilario was just southwest of the convent. As Antolinus and Ubertus Reddemanus had done, Gerardus spoke of the owners of these houses in the past tense. In contrast with those previous witnesses' formulations, he also described the locations of the houses in the past tense: they used to be located there (que domus erant solute esse in dicto loco). Gerardus's specificity helps distinguish between houses the friars destroyed to build their convent and those that remained in the parish outside.

The second anonymous witness named Dominus Fultus Malgarius de Andito, Dominus Zanonus de Andito, and Dominus Ubertinus de Andito as parishioners of Santa Maria de Cario whose houses had been destroyed by the friars. Presbiter Canonus remembered Ubertinus de Andito as one of the residents of the houses that used to occupy the site and reported that some were multiple and some single-story houses.<sup>52</sup>

The locations of these houses are hypothesized on the reconstruction. Antolinus provided four additional names of houses outside the convent's boundaries: Ubertus Magister, Octo Fornarius, Guillelmus de Speccenis, and Vidomerius Dionisius de Bonefaciis et fratres.

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<sup>52</sup> Canonus, *capitulum* 29

San Faustino is the easiest parish to reconstruct. The testimony of Albertus, the parish priest of the church of San Vincenzo, which was southeast of the convent (Figure 26), included detailed information about the layout of the houses within San Faustino and its boundaries. He was likely a reliable witness for these specific details because he had previously been the parish priest there, as he explained to the legates.<sup>53</sup>

Albertus used cardinal directions to define the parish, beginning with its western edge: “the boundaries of the church of San Faustino to the west begin at the house of Dominus Iacobus de Castro al Quadro and end to the east in the former house of Condam Palmerius Cucherla, which was inside the site in question.”<sup>54</sup> Since Albertus only described Palmerius Cucherla’s house as “within the site (in dicto loco),” Iacobus de Castro al Quadro’s house probably lay outside the convent to the southwest (Position 11 in Figure 30).

Albertus continued with a detailed description of the houses that were on the friars’ land, beginning with the house of Palmerius in the east. Albertus numbered the houses from right to left in response to a question about how far into the parish the friars’ convent extended (“Quantum est dictus locus infra singulos limites singularum ecclesiarum predictarum?”).<sup>55</sup> He responded that the convent was within the boundaries of the parish of San Faustino “by three houses and part of a fourth house, the first of which was of Dominus Palmerius Cucherle, the second of Dominus Conradus Advocatus Condam, the third of Dominus Iohannis Advocatus, and part of the fourth was of Condam Roffinus Advocatus. These houses and part of the aforementioned fourth house were within the place in question.”<sup>56</sup> I have indicated these structures on the map as numbers twelve through fifteen from east to west. Ubertus Reddemanus also described the house of Dominus Conradus

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<sup>53</sup> Albertus, f. 76, l. 25-26

<sup>54</sup> “Limites ecclesie Sancti Faustini versus sero incipiunt a domo Domini Iacobi de Castro al Quadro et finiunt versus mane in domo que fuit Condam Palmerii Cucherle que domus erat in dicto loco.” Presbiter Albertus, f. 76, l. 16-21

<sup>55</sup> Albertus, f. 76, l. 27-32

<sup>56</sup> “Quod dictus locus est infra limites dicte ecclesie Sancti Faustini per tres domos et per partem quarte domus una quarum et prima fuit Domini Palmerii Cucherle. Secundi fuit Domini Conradi Advocati Condam. Tertia fuit Domini Iohannis Advocati. Et pars dicte quarte fuit Condam Roffini Advocati que domus. Et pars dicte quarte domus erant in dicto loco. Et erant dicte parrochie Sancti Faustini.



Advocatus as the boundary of San Faustino, explicitly describing it as inside the convent wall: “fuit condam Domini Conradi Advocati que domus est infra cortinam dicti loci.”<sup>57</sup>

Dominus Antolinus described San Faustino’s jurisdiction extending to the domum of Dominus Ubertinus (que est infra dictum locum).<sup>58</sup> It is telling that Antolinus chose to use Ubertino’s house to describe the parish of San Faustino. Although previously stated that Ubertino’s house demarcated the boundary between Santa Maria de Cario and San Nicolò, it also formed the northeastern boundary of San Faustino, positioning it in a central place within the friars’ precinct. It may also be significant that Antolinus used a spatial indicator outside the parish he was describing to define it. It could mean that he considered Ubertino’s house to be just outside San Nicolò’s jurisdiction in the parish of Santa Maria de Cario, which would make sense both according to the map and according to Ubertino’s will that favored Santa Maria (Figures 28 & 30). As the most important resident of the neighborhood, Ubertinus could also have had neighborly affiliations with more than one of the nearby parishes. The fact that Ubertinus’s will only singled out Santa Maria de Cario could indicate that already by 1298 the fate of the other parishes had rendered them obsolete.

Antolinus further described the eastern and southern boundaries of San Faustino by the houses (domus) of Symonis de Advocatis (number 16), Iacobus de Castro al Quadro (Number 11) and Thomasius Ficinus (number 17), all of which he said were outside the Franciscan property.<sup>59</sup> We can deduce that the house of Symonis de Advocatis would have defined an eastern, rather than a western, boundary of the parish because, a few lines later, he would use it to define the limit between San Faustino and San Iacobo, which lies to the east. Finally, Antolinus clarified that “the boundaries of the parish ended in part on one side within the site in question (finiunt in parte ab uno lateris infra dictum locum).”<sup>60</sup>

Gerardus’s tense use again clarified the state of these buildings at the time of the inquest. He explained that a house that used to belong to the de Cucherlis had been within the friars’ precinct (“Et domus que consueverat esse de Cucherlis erat infra dictum locum. Et

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<sup>57</sup> Ubertus Reddemanus, f. 34, l. 31-32

<sup>58</sup> Antolinus, f. 42, 30-31

<sup>59</sup> *ibid*, l. 38-41

<sup>60</sup> *ibid*, l. 44-45

erat dicta domus de Parrochia Sancti Faustini.”)<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, he added that he knew the houses’ former residents because he had seen them at a time when the houses were not destroyed and when they were inhabited (“quia vidit eas eo tempore quo non erant rupte et quod habitabantur”).<sup>62</sup> Gerardus’s testimony suggests that the ambiguity of the other witnesses was simply the result of less specific language since he so clearly explains that these houses were no longer there. The second anonymous witness also remembered Palmerius Cucherlis as a former San Faustino resident whose house had been destroyed.

The second anonymous witness and Antolinus again filled in some of the houses from the parish in their testimonies about defecting parishioners. The anonymous witness named Dominus Albertus Paganus and Ansaldus Ficinus, while Antolinus named Albertus Paganus, Tomasius Finianus, Guillermus de Bardo de Gravago, and Ansaldus Ficianus. Four blank beige squares represent possible locations of the four houses of these parishioners. Altogether, there were several correlations among the witnesses about San Faustino.

There were also small discrepancies. Ubertus Reddemanus cites Conradus Advocatus’s house as the far eastern boundary of the parish, while Albertus described it as the second-most eastern. The more descriptive language by both Gerardus and Albertus help verify that the houses the witnesses described as “infra dictum locum” had actually been destroyed by the friars. And, finally, the agreement about particular parishioners left behind in San Faustino completes the witnesses’ picture of the parish, both before and after the Franciscan arrival.

Presbiter Albertus was also very explicit in his descriptions of the parish of San Iacobo (Figure 31). He described the house of Iacobus Strictus (number 18) as the limit of the boundary of San Iacobo. Furthermore, he explained, that house demarcated the boundary between the parish of San Iacobo and San Faustino. Since he also described it as “in dicto loco,” it was within the limits of the convent, and, therefore along the north side of the parish.<sup>63</sup> Gerardus confirmed the former house of Iacobus Strictus within the place in

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<sup>61</sup> Gerardus, f. 53, l. 46-47

<sup>62</sup> *ibid*, l. 50-51

<sup>63</sup> Albertus, f. 76 l. 9-12 and 32-35: . *“Limites ecclesie Sancti Iacobi durabant usque ad domum Iacobi Stricti que domus erat solita esse in dicto loco. Et erat ipsa domus de parrochia Sancti Iacobi predicti. Et ibi separabatur*

question, adding his descriptive verb tenses to explain that “the house of Iacobus Strictus used to be within the place in question.”<sup>64</sup> Albertus at one point referred to the residents of the house as both Iacobus and Raynaldus Strictus, which could just mean that they both lived there. He also explained his reasoning for assigning the house to that parish: “he saw the predecessors living there, i.e., in the house of Iacobus Strictus, going to mass at the church of San Iacobo” (“vidit predecessores habentes in dictis locis scilicet in dicta domo iacobi stricti ire ad ecclesiam sancti iacobi ad divina.”)<sup>65</sup>

Ubertus Reddemanus described the boundaries of San Iacobo up to “quondam domum que fuit condam Domini Manfredi Stricti cui dicebatur Ragnus quodam est infra dictum locum.”<sup>66</sup> Ubertus described the ownership of the house in the past tense (domum que fuit) and the location in the present (quodam est infra dictum locum). The second anonymous witness had also said the house of Dominus Manfredus Strictus was one of the destroyed houses.

Antolinus further established the relationship between the parishes of San Iacobo and San Nicolò. He explained that the boundaries of San Iacobo began at the volta of the De Strictis and ended at the domus of Symonis de Advocatis.<sup>67</sup> If the volta was somehow located near the Strictis homes, it could have constituted the western boundary of the parish south of the houses. Furthermore, it is logical for the house of Symonis de Advocatis to border San Iacobo since it was also described as a boundary of San Faustino. In sum, Albertus’s expert contributions and the strengths of Antolinus and Gerardus’s depositions render the house locations on the south side of the church much clearer than those on the north.

The only oddity about the parish of San Iacobo is the list of names of defecting parishioners. According to the second anonymous witness, the list included Dominus Iacobus Strictus, Henricus eius frater, and Motus Strictus. Antolinus named Andriolus Strictus and Montus Strictus. Guillelmus de Vigolo named Henricus Strictus, Iacobus Strictus, and their wives, though he did not explicitly associate them with the parish of San

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*vicinia Sancti Faustini a vicinia Sancti Iacobi...Et infra limites dicte parrochie Sancti Iacobi est dictus locus per unam domum que fuit Iacobi et Raynaldi Stricti que domus erat in dicto loco. Et erat dicte parrochie Sancti Iacobi.”*

<sup>64</sup> Gerardus, f. 53, l. 44-46

<sup>65</sup> Presbiter Albertus, capitulum 1, f. 76

<sup>66</sup> Ubertus Reddemanus, f. 34, l. 26-35

<sup>67</sup> Antolinus, f. 42, l. 41-42

Iacobo. It is strange that the Strictus family seems both to have had its property destroyed and to have been implicated in attending the Franciscan church. They might simply have had more houses outside the friars' precinct than those that were destroyed. Regardless, the testimony suggests that two houses contained parishioners of San Iacobo who defected to the friars, reflected in beige squares on the map.

Antolinus described the parish of San Michele as separated from the area affected by the friars' convent by a small street, it was still close enough to be named in the witness testimony and in the legates' template and to have lost parishioners to the friars' services. Antolinus described the boundaries of San Michele extending to the convent, but ending next to it: "usque ad dictum locum et iuxta dictum locum finiuntur."<sup>68</sup> He named several defecting parishioners: Dominus Armannus Pigugus, Octo Bagarotus, Magister Iacobus de Gravago, Phs0 de Fillervis, Magister Lanfrancus Medicus, Albertus de Andito, and Gerardus Becus de Andito. The approximate location of these houses is indicated on the map. Antolinus is a logical source for these names because he lived next to the parish of San Michele and would have seen them at the friars' services. None of the witnesses identified destroyed houses within the parish of San Michele, which seems to confirm Antolinus's conjecture that the parish was not physically broached by the Franciscan convent. This is not to say that the Franciscans did not affect the parish; San Michele, along with other nearby parishes, still suffered from the defection of its parishioners.

## Creation of the New *Platea Communis*

At the same time the Franciscans were demolishing houses and negotiating legal problems with the bishop and pope, the commune was at work building a new palace immediately to the west of the friars' convent (Figure 33). There is some ambiguity regarding the date work was begun on the Communal Palace. The date of the beginning of construction has traditionally been reported as 1281, as reported in the chronicle of the Anonymous Ghibelline:

1281. On Saturday, March 16, on account of the palace that the Piacentines intended to build there, the church of San Bartolomeo was demolished and destroyed, and on the morning of Monday, May 12, with the Franciscans singing the Gospel of Saint John, the

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<sup>68</sup> Antolinus, *capitulum* I, f. 42, l. 27 ss.

palace was begun, with the city rector Bruxato de Brixia and Girardino de Buschetis de Mutina, captain of the merchants and guilds, in attendance.”<sup>69</sup>

The Ghibelline’s account records the destruction of a parish church in order to build the new communal palace. That destruction would seem to confirm the theory of an overall shift away from small parishes and toward a trend of larger institutions in the city center. The participation of the Franciscans in the services marking the beginning of construction on the palace solidifies the hypothesis of a close collaboration between the urban projects of the commune and the friars. The commune had probably supported the Franciscans’ acquisition of property, and the friars were present to reciprocate their support.

Da Ripalta’s fourteenth-century chronicle also dated the beginning of construction on the new communal palace to 1281, stating:

“MCCLXXXI In the month of May, the Communal Palace of Piacenza was begun. While they were digging to lay the palace foundations, they found the Temple of Bellona deep in the earth, bearing the inscription ‘Ara Bellone’...”<sup>70</sup>

Da Ripalta’s chronicle confirms that construction began in 1281. However, he also referred to the Communal Piazza (*platea comunis*) in his description of the beginning of the friars’ construction back in 1278: “MCCLXXVIII: The friars minor began to build their church in Piacenza on the *platea comunis*.”<sup>71</sup> Thus, while it seems certain that some kind of new construction was begun in 1281, it is possible that it was already functioning as a civic space.

Notarial manuscripts in both Ubertino de Andito’s archive and the Piacenza Archivio di Stato referred to a new communal palace already in the 1270s:

1273: *sub porticu domus nove comunis*<sup>72</sup>

1273: *platea nova comunis*<sup>73</sup>

1274: *sub porticu domus comunis novae*<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> “Annales placentini.” Die sabbati 16. mensis Marcii ecclesia sancti Bertolomei de Placentia propter palacium quod Placentini intendunt ibi facere dirrupta et destructa est, et die Lune 12. mensis Madii summo mane cantato ibi euangelio sancti Iohannis per fratres Minores, inceptum est dictum palacium existente rectore civitatis Placentie Bruxato de Brixia, et Girardino de Buschetis de Mutina capitaneo mercatorum et paraticorum.”

<sup>70</sup> Da Ripalta, *Chronica Placentina*, 88. “MCCLXXXI De mense maii inceptum fuit palacium comunis Placentie, in cuius fundamento, cum foderetur, inventum fuit in visceribus terre templum Bellone integrum inscriptum: ‘Ara Bellone’...”

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. “MCCLXXVIII fratres Minores edificare ceperunt ecclesiam eorum in Placentia apud plateam comunis.”

<sup>72</sup> ASPC, October 20, 1273, *Ospizi Civili Fondo Diplomatico, Cartella 34, Pergamena 71*

<sup>73</sup> ASPC, November 11, 1273, *Osp. Civ. Fond. Dipl., Cart. 23, Perg. 79*

<sup>74</sup> ASPC April 14, 1274, *Osp. Civ. Fond. Dipl. Cart. 34 Perg. 22*

1274: subter porticum domus communis<sup>75</sup>

1274: sub porticu domus nove comunis ad bancum novissimum<sup>76</sup>

1275: in domo populi<sup>77</sup>

1276: in domus populi<sup>78</sup>

These references from the Archivio di Stato frequently used the word “new” to describe the communal palace. They also maintained use of the word “domus” to refer to the palace, rather than “palacium.” The frequent references to the palace’s “portico” strengthen the case that it was the same palace there today, with its prominent portico.

There were also many references to the communal palace throughout the 1270s and 1280s in the archive of Ubertino de Andito, now located at the Archivio Doria-Pamphilj in Rome:

1273, March 21, Piacenza, in palacio novo comunis<sup>79</sup>

1273 April 24, Piacenza, in the stacione of the church of S. Bartholomei<sup>80</sup>

1276 March 25, Piacenza, in the domo comunis<sup>81</sup>

12[76] July 23, Piacenza, domo comunis<sup>82</sup>

1276, August 13, Piacenza, in the platea where ius redditur<sup>83</sup>

1278 May 25, Piacenza, in platea comunis<sup>84</sup>

1286 November 1, Piacenza, subtus pallacium novum comunis<sup>85</sup>

1290 August 30, Piacenza, in palacio comunis<sup>86</sup>

These documents referred to a “new palace,” or “palacio novo” as early as 1273 and as late as 1290. They also referred to communal business taking place at San Bartolomeo in 1273, the church that would be demolished eight years later to build the palace. The terminology in

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<sup>75</sup> ASPC, April 27, 1274, *Osp. Civ. Fond. Dipl. Cart.* 34, Perg. 27

<sup>76</sup> ASPC, June 7, 1274, *Osp. Civ. Fond. Dipl. Cart.* 35, Perg. 42

<sup>77</sup> ASPC, August 14, 1275, *Osp. Civ. Fond. Dipl. Cart.* 36, Perg. 28

<sup>78</sup> ASPC, August 14, 1276, *Osp. Civ. Fond. Dipl. Cart.* 37, Perg. 68

<sup>79</sup> *Fondo Landi* 964 (1838)

<sup>80</sup> *Fondo Landi* 965 (1688)

<sup>81</sup> *Fondo Landi* 980 (no old number)

<sup>82</sup> *Fondo Landi* 994 (2446)

<sup>83</sup> *Fondo Landi* 998 (1524)

<sup>84</sup> *Fondo Landi* 1024 (2109)

<sup>85</sup> *Fondo Landi* 1240 (1143)

<sup>86</sup> *Fondo Landi* 1293 (2530)

these documents is too inconsistent to allow a reconstruction of a precise location for the communal palace throughout these years. Nevertheless, there is a striking continuity in the use of “platea comunis” both in reference to the friars’ church and as the site of communal business. The reiteration of San Bartolomeo, both in the context of its destruction to build the communal palace and as a place where communal documents were recorded, is also very suggestive. It is possible that the reference to San Bartolomeo’s destruction in 1281 referred to an expansion of the palace, not a construction *ex-novo*. Whether or not the current communal palace existed in part prior to 1281, these correspondences make it likely that the commune was present in some form at that location by the time the Franciscans moved there in 1278. A chronology in which the commune moved to the new zone first makes sense, because of the strong possibility that the commune had a hand in orchestrating the Franciscan takeover of the site of their convent. That narrative would indicate that, when the Franciscans moved, they were moving in order to contribute their legitimacy to the newly emergent political center of the city.

The new platea comunis formed by the two institutions marginalized the other major institutions of the city. The city was completely altered by the shift: religious, economic, and political activities so long active at the periphery began now to coalesce at its core. The spaces occupied by the Cathedral, the old markets, the older monastic institutions, even Ubertino’s castle near the city walls and the convents of the other mendicant orders were now not only peripheral, but also marginal. The production of a central civic space, to which the Franciscans so fundamentally contributed, solidified a new urban, economic, and political order within the city.

## *Chapter 4*

### BUILDING HISTORY

A plan drawn in 1805 during the Napoleonic suppression of the monasteries records the extent and disposition of the conventual space of San Francesco at the moment of its closure, before it underwent the common northern Italian adaptation of uses as hospital and military warehouse during wartime (Figure 35).<sup>1</sup> The streets labeled on the 1805 plan correspond to the streets that legates and witnesses used to identify the site in the 1282 inquest. The corresponding spatial indicators and therefore surface area in 1282 and 1805 allow the possibility that the 1805 ground plan documents the layout of the convent when described by the witnesses in 1282. Except for the church and a few ancillary spaces utilized today as parish offices lining the one remaining arm of the cloister, very little of the convent survives. After weathering the period of alternative use, the convent was gradually dismantled later in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century as the result of attempts to liberate the church from surrounding structures, in order to create a museified urban scene.

The nineteenth- and twentieth-century restorations not only eliminated most of the convent, but also affected the church. As a result of the historicizing desires of the restorers, the non-medieval parts of the building were eliminated. The surviving structure is thus primarily a reflection of the aesthetic impulses of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century restorers, who privileged the medieval over the material production of other historical periods. Thus the medieval structure is exposed to the twenty-first-century viewer mediated through the intervening centuries, but particularly through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries because of the explicit aim to strip away what came in between. In addition to the narrative legible in the physical fabric of the church, the medieval textual record and the hyper-documentation of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century regional bureaucracy provide the context for the work carried out in both periods.

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<sup>1</sup> Antonio Emmanuelli, *Il Tempio dei SS. Protaso e Francesco in Piacenza* (Piacenza: Fratelli Bertola, 1868), 7.



## Labor

The initial labor on the church and convent was carried out by *magisters*, or professional masons, and by the Franciscan friars. The witness Presbiter Vincentius saw both magisters and friars engaged in work on the building (“*ipsis fratribus laborantibus ad ipsum edificium et quod vidit etiam magistros qui tunc ibi laborabant*”).<sup>2</sup> Dominus Antolinus de Filiis Agadis recalled similarly that work was done by magisters and by the friars themselves, failing to remember their names (“*per magistros et per ipsos fratres de quorum nominibus non recordatur*”).<sup>3</sup> Presbiter Simon also witnessed friars working there (“*videbat eos fratres laborare ibi*”).<sup>4</sup> Dominus Roffinus de Andito had seen the friars working at the site several times over a period of three years (“*ipse vidit plures quod dicti fratres fecerunt laborari in dicto loco a tribus annis citra*”).<sup>5</sup> Presbiter Gerardus and Guillelmus de Vigolo, and magister Aço Medicus, had only observed work done by masons, whose names they did not know (“*per magisteros de quorum nominibus ignoratur*,” “*per magisteros set nescit per quos*,” and “*per magistros set nescit nomina eorum*”).<sup>6</sup>

Several masons admitted their involvement. The magisters Rolandus Zumignanus and Iohannes de Christiana both confirmed that they were working at the site when construction had begun four years earlier. Rolandus stated specifically that he was there to work (“*ibi fuit ad laborandum*”).<sup>7</sup> Iohannes de Christiana similarly acknowledged that he had been working at the site for the friars (“*ipse testis laboravit in dicto loco predictus fratribus*”).<sup>8</sup> Iohannes also cited his participation as support for his testimony about the denunciation, (“*quia ibi laborabat et erat presens*”).<sup>9</sup> He confirmed his involvement again when questioned about the structures they built (“*ipse...testis laboravit in dicto loco*”).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Presbiter Vincentius: f. 20, l. 20-21, cap. 9

<sup>3</sup> Dominus Antolinus: f. 43, l. 36-7, cap. 9

<sup>4</sup> Presbiter Simon: f. 25, l. 21, cap. 9

<sup>5</sup> Dominus Roffinus de Andito: f. 51, l. 35-36, cap. 9 & 10

<sup>6</sup> Presbiter Gerardus: f. 55, l. 14, cap. 9; Presbiter Guillelmus de Vigolo: f. 38, l. 26, cap. 9; Magister Aço Medicus: f. 67, l. 38, cap. 9. The title magister was not limited to building magisters since Aço's testimony does not indicate that he was a mason.

<sup>7</sup> Rolandus Zumignanus: f. 65, l. 31, cap. 5

<sup>8</sup> Iohannes de Christiana: f. 71, l. 1 – f. 72, l. 2, cap. 5

<sup>9</sup> Iohannes de Christiana: f. 72, l. 17-22, cap. 6; f. 72, l. 37, cap. 7

<sup>10</sup> Iohannes de Christiana: f. 73, l. 40, cap. 17-19

The masons also named each other. During supplemental questioning to capitulum 5, the legates asked Magister Iohannes de Christiana which masons had initiated construction at the site. Iohannes offered the names of Magisters Rolandus Zumignanus, Ugolinus de Sibonus and Ffredontius Zopinellus.<sup>11</sup> In capitulum 6 they similarly asked for the names of the workers present at the denunciation. He gave the same three names—Rolandus Zumignanus, Ffredontius Zopinellus, Ugolinus de Sibonis—this time adding himself to the list.<sup>12</sup> Iohannes also provided the legates with a third list for capitulum 7. Distinct from capituli 5 and 6, which were focused on the beginning of construction and the denunciation more broadly, the opening statement to capitulum 7 was formulated specifically to ascertain who had been present at the denunciation. Predictably, Iohannes’s list in his capitulum 7 opening statement was different than the previous two. Here, Iohannes included Friars Nicolaus Bagarotus and Melioratus de Fornimpopulo, in addition to Magisters Rolandus Zumignanus, Ffredontius Zopinelli, and himself, and he replaced Ugolinus de Sibonis with Berzonus de Bardi, clarifying that they were “operantes et operari facientes in dicto edificio pro dictis fratribus.”<sup>13</sup> The shift in Iohannes’s list is a result of the fact that the legates supplied the witnesses with the information they wanted confirmed: in this case, the identities of those working at the time of the denunciation. This is confirmed by the testimony of Aço Medicus, who did not supply names elsewhere, but gave an identical list in his capitulum 7 opening statement.<sup>14</sup> Capitulum 7 is one example of an opening statement that had been designed specifically to confirm the legates’ preexisting prejudices.

Iohannes’s and Aço’s statements as written in the template provided to them labeled the list of participants as “operantes et operari facientes in dicto edificio pro dictis fratribus.” With this formulation, the legates initiated a discussion of the distinction of these work roles. During the additional questioning to capitulum 7, the legates pursued their definition with Iohannes twice, asking him to explain how he knew the masons were “operantes et operari facientes in dicto edificio,” and later to distinguish which were “operantes” from

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<sup>11</sup> Iohannes de Christiana: f. 72, l. 6-7, cap. 5

<sup>12</sup> Iohannes de Christiana: f. 72, l. 21-22, cap. 6

<sup>13</sup> Iohannes de Christiana: f. 72, l. 33-36, cap. 7

<sup>14</sup> Aço Medicus: f. 67, l. 29-32, cap. 7

those who were “operari facientes.”<sup>15</sup> Iohannes singled out Rolandus Zumignani as operans and operari faciens, while labeling Berzonus, Ffredontius and himself simply operantes (“Dictus Rolandus erat operans et operari faciens. Et dictus Berzonus et Ffredontius et ipse testis erant operantes in dicto edificio”).<sup>16</sup> While the precise definitions of the roles is unknown, Iohannes set Rolandus’s labor apart from his own and that of the other operantes. Operari faciens suggests a managerial role: to bring about the work.

Iohannes was not the only witness to distinguish Rolandus from the other workers. When interrogated about preliminary construction in capitulum 5, Magister Çumignanus named only Magister Rolandus as the initiator of the project, also revealing that Rolandus was his son (“per Rolandum magistrum eius filium”).<sup>17</sup> The ages of the two men (70, 38) confirm the possibility that Çumignanus was Rolandus’s father. Çumignanus’s testimony about his son contrasts with his later reticence to provide information about construction. Unique among the witnesses who worked on the building, Cumignanus capitulated to the vicar’s threats of excommunication, recusing himself from the project under great duress:

Non interfuit tamquam dixit ipse testis cum ipse laboraret ad ecclesiam que fiebat in dicto loco preceptum fuit ei experte episcopi placentiam sub pene excommunis ne amplius laboraret ibi. Et ita ipse testis timens dictum preceptum stetit quod non laboraret ibi nec laborare voluit nec habet in mente si postea laboraiunt ibi... Tamquam dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod denuntiatur fuerat fratribus ex parte domini Episcopi et Canonicorum placentiam ne prederent nec procedi facerent in dicto edificio.<sup>18</sup>

Cumignanus explained that he had been working on the church when the denunciation was issued prohibiting the masons from participating on the project. He testified that, fearing excommunication, he neither worked there, nor desired to work there, nor knew if anyone else worked there afterward. Nevertheless, he had heard the news that Piacenza’s bishop and canons had directed the friars not to proceed on the building or to facilitate its continuation. Çumignanus may have been a particularly vulnerable target for the episcopacy’s threats of excommunication: older than the other workers and therefore closer to death, the consequences were more pressing. They might also have targeted him specifically as the father of the master mason, in order to intimidate his son.

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<sup>15</sup> Iohannes de Christiana: f. 72, l. 42-43, cap. 7 (“quomodo scit quod predicti magistri Rolandus, Berzonus et Ffredontius et ipse Iohannes tunc essent operantes et operari facientes in dicto edificio?”)

<sup>16</sup> Iohannes de Christiana: f. 72, l. 46-7, cap. 7

<sup>17</sup> Magister Cumignanus: f. 48, l. 33-34

<sup>18</sup> Cumignanus: f. 48, l. 42-49

Rolandus Zumignanus's heightened profile extended beyond his fellow masons. His recognition among the clerical witnesses reinforces the probability of a more prominent role. When asked to name the building magisters, Presbiter Guillelmus de Vigolo said that he did not know them, except for the one named Rolandus ("nescit nisi de uno qui vocatur Rolandus Zumignani").<sup>19</sup>

Rolandus's own testimony is noteworthy for evading questions about logistical details, compared with a mason like Iohannes. Although he admitted that he worked on the site ("ibi fuit ad laborandum"), Rolandus remained vague, even when discussing events at which he was present.<sup>20</sup> For example, immediately following acknowledgement that he was there when construction began, he claimed not to remember who initiated construction ("quod non recordatur") when other witnesses had repeatedly named him.

Rolandus's testimony regarding the denunciation was similarly vague. He said that while working for the friars, he was denounced not to work there anymore, but knew nothing of the friars' denunciation ("Item dixit ipse testis quod denuntiaturum fuit sibi quodam tempore quo laborabat in dicto loco pro dictis fratribus quod non laboraret in dicto loco set quod denuntiaturum fuerit fratribus nescit ipse testis nec recordatur").<sup>21</sup> These discrepancies in Rolandus's testimony suggest a wariness to admit what would incriminate him more than the other laborers. In contrast, Iohannes de Christiana succinctly explained that the friars and magisters were both denounced not to proceed further on the project ("denuntiavit fratribus et magisteris qui ibi erant ne procederent amplius in dicto opere").<sup>22</sup> Unlike Rolandus, Iohannes did not self-identify with the denunciation, instead providing concise, detached observations.

The exact composition of the work force is unknown. Neither the witnesses nor the legates estimated the total number of masons and friars building the convent. The participation of both groups was apparent to clerical witnesses, lay observers, and the legates, in addition to the four masons who testified. Eleven masons and eight friars swore in, but the friars and the other masons were either never questioned, or their testimony has been

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<sup>19</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo: f. 40, l. 3-4, cap. 17-19

<sup>20</sup> Rolandus Zumignani, f. 65, l. 31, cap. 5

<sup>21</sup> Rolandus Zumignani, f. 65, l. 39-41, cap. 6

<sup>22</sup> *ibid*, f. 72, l. 32-33

lost (Appendix C).<sup>23</sup> Presbiter Guillelmus testified that approximately sixty friars were present when they took possession of the site in 1278 (“bene vidit fratres minores...sexaginta vel circa quod venerunt ad dictum locum et ibi posuerunt crucem”).<sup>24</sup> If all the friars participated, Rolandus might have led a labor force of up to seventy total workers, possibly more if there were laymen employed who were not called to testify. The large work force explains their rapid progress over the next four years.

## Preliminary Construction

Sixteen witnesses agreed that construction began four years prior to the inquest, several specifying the month of June (“Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres Ordinis Minorum de Placentiam ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt in mense iunii proximi preteriti”).<sup>25</sup> Presbiter Canonus testified that they planted a cross on their arrival, followed by the construction of the cortina (“posuerunt crucem et postea edificaverunt ibi curtinam.”)<sup>26</sup> Dominus Antolinus de Filiis Agadis also remembered that they planted a cross on a pole, began to build their oratory, and then began to build a cortina around the site (“primo posuerunt unam crucem super unam perticam et postea ceperunt facere edificare oratorium et postea fecerunt curtinam undique.”)<sup>27</sup>

The first structure the friars built was the wall (“cortina”) along the site’s north border, the via publica (today Via XX Settembre). The precision of details offered about the cortina varied. Some witnesses simply repeated back the information the legates asked of them. For example, Simon narrated that at the time of the denunciation, the masons were building walls and an arcade (“magistri edificantos in dicto loco tempore dicte nuntiationis facte ut audivit dici faciebantes muratari seu suffranari muros arcumquaque ibi factes”).<sup>28</sup> Vincentius similarly described early construction at the site consisting of building walls and an arcade (“magistri in dicto loco sufrenabant muros arcumque ibi factos”).<sup>29</sup> The similarity

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<sup>23</sup> f. 93, l. 14-21

<sup>24</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo: f. 38, l. 10-11

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix D, capitulum 5 for all witnesses.

<sup>26</sup> Presbiter Canonus: f. 30, l. 46, cap. 5

<sup>27</sup> Antolinus de Filiis Agadis: f. 43, l. 24, cap. 5

<sup>28</sup> Simon, cap. 8

<sup>29</sup> Vincentius, f. 20, l. 10-16

of their vague architectural language suggests that their responses relied on the legates' template.

Iohannes described the cortina as six *brachia* (2.814 meters) high.<sup>30</sup> Vincentius had observed masons working on scaffolding, but could not specify their height (or alternatively their number) ("Int. si illi qui sufrenabant sufrenabant in plana terra seu in ponte vel armatura? Resp. in ponte. Int. quoti pontis primi vel secundi? Resp. quod erant de super et nescit quot fuissent pontes").<sup>31</sup> Vincentius also described the material composition of the cortina consisting of stone and mortar ("de petra et creta").

Several references to the cortina suggest that it encircled the site. Some of the testimony articulates the location of the cortina relative to the whole site. Iohannes de Christiana explained that the walls he and the other masons were building were "all around the site" ("ipse et omnis alii magistri tempore dicte denuntiationis sufrenabant muros circumquaque factos in dicto loco").<sup>32</sup> Iohannes described the masons working primarily on the interior, and one on the exterior near the via de supramuro ("a parte interiori et unus magister ipsorum magistrorum sufrenabat a parte exteriori versus viam de supramuro ut credit").<sup>33</sup> The friars meanwhile worked on the ground ("in terra").<sup>34</sup> Statements made by Magisters Iohannes de Christiana and Cumignanus, and Dominus Antolinus refer to construction on the cortina beginning in the east.<sup>35</sup> Iohannes referred to the cortina running along the via publica ("versus stratam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum in qua moratur potestas placentiae.")<sup>36</sup> He also recalled that the entrance to the convent was along the via publica, when the syndicus arrived there to denounce the friars ("syndicus erat ad intratam porte dicti loci que est versus dictam viam publicam stando.") Presbiter Iacobus confirmed the cortina along the via publica.<sup>37</sup> Gerardus described the cortina only as walls

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<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, f. 72, l. 45

<sup>31</sup> Vincentius, f. 20, l. 10-16

<sup>32</sup> Iohannes de Christiana, f. 72, l. 49-51

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, f. 73, l. 6-7

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, f. 73, l. 8-10

<sup>35</sup> Dominus Antolinus: f. 43, l. 27 – orientem; Cumignanus: f. 48, l. 36-38 – orientem; Iohannes de Christiana: f. 72, l. 10-11 – versus orientem

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, f. 72, l. 26-27

<sup>37</sup> Presbiter Iacobus, f. 60, l. 26-28, cap. 5

they built next to their church (“muros quos fecerunt circu iuxta ecclesiam suam.”)<sup>38</sup>

Magister Rolandus Zumignanus, however, claimed that construction began along the south side of the site.<sup>39</sup> Iohannes Zanarellus, who may have worked on the church, said that the wall was along the via de supramuro to the south (“versus viam de supramuro que est versum meridiem.”)<sup>40</sup>

Simon described it as a wall that went from the via de supramuro up to the via publica (“unum murum quo vadit a via de supramuro usque...potestas.”)<sup>41</sup> Canonus testified that it began at the via publica and ran up to the via de supramuro (“unum murum qui incipit via per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori ad domum in qua moratur potesta placentie et sunt usque ad viam de supramuro.”)<sup>42</sup> Guillelmus described two walls: one from the via de supramuro to the via publica, and another that went toward the Cathedral (“unum murum a via de supramuro usque ad viam publicam predictam et alium murum qui noluitur versus ecclesiam maiorem.”)<sup>43</sup> Antolinus’s use of “undique” characterizes the wall as an all-encompassing structure. Aço Medicus described the cortina as an “almost square wall” (“unum murum quasi quadrum”).<sup>44</sup> Iohannes Zanarellus defined the cortina as a “wall on all sides” (“cortina scilicet muri circumquamque.”)<sup>45</sup>

The multiplicity of responses suggests that the friars began building in multiple sections almost simultaneously. The multi-site references in the testimony of the masons suggests that the rapid completion of the cortina was sought, rather than that the witnesses remembered incorrectly. Iohannes reported that the cortina was mostly complete by the time of the denunciation (maior pars curtine facta erat).<sup>46</sup>

## Early Work on the Church

As construction began, the friars simultaneously demolished the houses of the previous residents to the south of the cortina along the via publica in the space occupied by

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<sup>38</sup> Gerardus, cap. 17-19

<sup>39</sup> Rolandus Zumignanus: f. 65, l. 34-36 – meridiem

<sup>40</sup> Iohannes Zanarellus, f. 79, l. 48-49

<sup>41</sup> Simon, f. 24, l. 43, cap. 5; Simon, cap. 17-19

<sup>42</sup> Canonus, cap. 17-19

<sup>43</sup> Guillelmus, cap. 17-19

<sup>44</sup> Aço Medicus: f. 67, l. 22, cap. 5; Aço Medicus, cap. 17-19

<sup>45</sup> Iohannes Zanarellus: f. 79, l. 46

<sup>46</sup> Iohannes de Christiana, f. 72, l. 23, cap. 6

the church today. It is remarkable that, after the witnesses had offered so much information about the previous houses on the site, noting specifically that the friars had demolished them, none of them were asked to describe the logistics of the demolition. The destruction of homes was insignificant to the legates' investigation, compared with their interest in what the friars built. The cleared space formed by the demolitions served as the friars' oratory, while construction began on the conventual buildings to the south (Figure 34). The street grid to the north and the concurrent construction and demolition projects defined the location of the church's early perimeter walls. Dominus Antolinus was the only witness to name the friars' *oratorium* among the early structures on the site. Since he was one of the early patrons of the friars' services, Antolinus was afforded privileged access to their precinct within the enclosure wall. His responses were often more nuanced than witnesses whose impressions were limited to the outside.

The legates' goal in capitulum 9 of the inquest was to establish that, in defiance of the denunciation, construction on the convent continued, so their questioning did not refer to specific buildings, but referred to work on a generic, undefined "building" (*dicto edificio*). The lack of specificity in their question resulted in nearly every response referring to construction on the church specifically, suggesting that it was the default structure witnesses associated with construction after the denunciation. Just as construction prior to and during the denunciation had been primarily on the enclosure wall, construction immediately following the denunciation was focused on the church. Of the eight witnesses who described the post-denunciation structures, seven mentioned the church: "*ecclesiam*," "*ecclesia*," "*oratorium*," "*muros ecclesie*," "*iuxta ecclesiam suam*," "*quondam domum ad modum ecclesie in qua celebrant divinum officium*," and again "*ecclesiam*"). Antolinus alone associated construction with the church in May of 1278, but by June, the association was standard.

The legates asked witnesses to locate construction after the denunciation, as they had done with the earliest phases. Presbiter Iacobus described work near the small *viaçola* linking the *via publica* with the *via de supramuro* ("*Ab ea parte que est versus viacolam per quam itur a dicta via de supramuro usque ad dictam viam publicam.*")<sup>47</sup> Presbiter Vincentius

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<sup>47</sup> Presbiter Iacobus, f. 60, l. 43, c. 9



and Guillelmus de Vigolo claimed that construction proceeded after the denunciation on the east side of the site (“a mane parte”<sup>48</sup> and “versus mane parte”).<sup>49</sup> Presbiter Gerardus recalled construction occurring to both the east and west (“versus mane et versus sero”).<sup>50</sup> Antolinus testified that the friars worked in the middle of the site on “buildings and walls” (“in medio in domibus et in cortinis”).<sup>51</sup> Cumignanus explained that construction continued next to the church (or “on the side of the church”) along the *via publica* (“iuxta ecclesiam suam versus viam publicam per quam itur ad domum predicti domini Raynaldi.”)<sup>52</sup>

The frequent references to work after the denunciation along the *via publica* and on the east part of the site, locate the earliest construction on the church within a space roughly occupied by the church’s east end today.

## Conventual Buildings

Construction progressed rapidly on the other conventual buildings simultaneously. While the emphasis immediately following the denunciation was on the church, witnesses made general and specific references to other conventual buildings as well for this early period. The general references included descriptions of “alias officinas,” “domibus,” “cortinis,” “muros domorum et muros cortine,” “alia sua edificia,” “quasdam alias domos,” and “domos et muros.” Presbiter Gerardus referred more specifically to a “claustrum” and Presbiter Guillelmus to a “refectorium”.<sup>53</sup> Two witnesses described a bell tower: Presbiter Vincentius, recalling a “barefredo in qua habent campanam eorum,” and Presbiter Simon, who described the “campanile de ligno.”<sup>54</sup> There are no entries for “barefredo” in medieval Latin dictionaries, but Vincentius probably referred to the same campanile cited by Simon, since Vincentius clarified that it housed a bell. The frequent complaints about the noise produced by bells confirm their use at the site. Presbiter Simon also referred to a “dormitorium”, and Presbiter Iacobus to living quarters (“domos in quibus habitant”).<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Vincentius, f. 20, l. 23, c. 9

<sup>49</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo, f. 38, l. 26, c. 9

<sup>50</sup> Gerardus, f. 55, l. 17, c. 9

<sup>51</sup> Antolinus, f. 43, l. 38-39

<sup>52</sup> Cumignanus, f. 49, l. 8, cap. 9

<sup>53</sup> Gerardus, f. 55, 18-19; Guillelmus de Vigolo, f. 38, l. 26, c. 9

<sup>54</sup> Vincentius, f. 20, l. 24; Simon, f. 25, l. 17-18

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, f. 60, l. 46

A final structure named in the first round of descriptions of the conventual complex by Vincentius, Simon, and Cumignanus was the feminine plural noun “stallas”, a word with several possible definitions. If “stalla” were considered to be the plural form of the neuter singular “stallum”, the reference could be to choir stalls. However, the repeated usage of “stallas” as the feminine accusative plural confirms that “stalla” is the feminine nominative singular, not the neuter plural. According to the *Blaise Medieval*, there are thus only two possible meanings for “stalla”: “étal”, a market stall, or “écurie”, a stable. Further inquiry into the linguistic record supports “stable” as the more likely definition. In a *Du Cange* citation of “stalla” taken from the 1378 *Chronicon Placentinum*, Giovanni De Mussis referred explicitly to Urban VI’s horse stable in Genoa (“stalla equorum”). Moreover, in late-medieval Piacenza the terms “banchus” and “banca” were more commonly used than “stalla” to refer to a place of exchange or merchant stall. Transactions recorded in the private archive of Ubertino de Andito and the public archive of the commune consistently referred to the sites of transactions as banchi.<sup>56</sup> There is no evidence that the jewelry and goldsmith shops on the north flank of the church existed prior to their addition in the sixteenth century. Thus, stables, which would have been a necessary resource to sustain a conventual community, are the most likely. In sum, the most recognizable buildings early in the project’s lifespan in 1278 were the church, bell tower, enclosure wall or cloister, refectory, dormitory, and stables (Figures 35-36).

In contrast to capitulum 9’s emphasis on the friars’ contempt of the denunciation, capituli 17-19 probed the specific kinds of structures built and their uses. The opening statements to these capituli (virtually identical among the fifteen witnesses who made them) recorded that after the denunciation, the Guardian and friars constructed buildings in which they offered and continued to offer the sacraments (capitulum 17), that the friars built structures for other conventual needs (capitulum 18), and finally, that they built enclosure walls or a cloister (capitulum 19):

Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres post dictam denuntiationem fecerunt construi domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium. Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt

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<sup>56</sup> Document 685 (2258) December 24, 1261 at the “banchum novum ubi iura redduntur,” Doc 1283 (1063) June 25, 1289, “banchum malleficiorum,” etc.

alias eorum officinas. Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum”<sup>57</sup>

Following the opening statements to these capituli, which were always recited together, two questions frequently elicited responses about structural types. The first, “Which other buildings did the friars build?” (“Quas domos alias fecerunt fieri a dicti fratres?”), implied that they meant buildings other than the church. While almost every witness had responded to the question in capitulum 9 about the “dicto edificio” with “ecclesia”, here only three of the eleven witnesses asked referred to the church. However even those who did refer to the church set it apart from the conventual structures. Presbiter Guillelmus de Vigolo, for example, explained that first they built their church and then the other conventual structures (“primo fecerunt construi ecclesiam suam et postmodum fecerunt fieri officinas suas”).

The second question the legates asked was, “What does the witness understand the officinas to be?” (“Quid intelligit ipse testis quid sic dicere officinas?”). Not a single witness mentioned the church in response to the second question, underscoring the functional difference between the two questions, both in how the legates intended them and how the witnesses understood them. The term “officinas” referred explicitly to conventual buildings. So if a witness remained unresponsive to the first question, referring directly to the *uses* of the spaces often elicited more information. Additionally, their use of the query word “intelligit” provided an opportunity for the witnesses to offer an interpretation without the burden of certainty. For example, in response to the first question, Presbiter Iacobus described “a building they lived in and stables” (“unam domum...in qua habitant et stallas”). However, in response to the second question, Iacobus described the buildings’ functions: “a kitchen, a place where they ate, a parlatorium, and stables” (“cochina et locus ubi comedunt, parlatorium et stalle.”)<sup>58</sup> The first anonymous witness’s responses to these two questions also illustrates the distinction. To the first question, he answered “all the buildings they have” (“omnes domos quas domos habent”), and to the second he explained that those domos were used as a kitchen and stables (“cochina ipsorum et stalle ipsorum.”) Guillelmus, whose brief

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<sup>57</sup> Appendix C, Capituli 17-19

<sup>58</sup> The responses of all eleven witnesses who were asked these questions are included in Appendix E.

chronology of construction in response to the first question mentioned the church, named a dormitory, refectory, sacristy, kitchen, and parlatorium in response to the second (“dormitorium, refectorium, sacrestia, cochina, parlatorium”).

In summary, each of the eleven witnesses who were asked these two questions named the friars’ kitchen (“cochina”). Seven referred to stallas. Four mentioned a refectorium distinct from the cochina. Five named the dormitorium. Five also referred to a meeting space, either as a parlatorium or a capitulum.<sup>59</sup> Three mentioned a sagrestia/sacrestia. Finally, two noted the claustrum, and three made some reference to the church (Figure 36).

Several witnesses commented on the height of the conventual buildings. Aço Medicus and Gerardus referred to both one- and multiple-story buildings, while Guillelmus and the first Anonymous witness reported only single-story structures. Antolinus explained that the dormitory was located on an upper story (“solerate sunt tales in quibus dormiunt.”)<sup>60</sup>

Antolinus and Presbiter Iacobus and Gerardus all identified the entrance to the conventual structures on the west side (“a sero parte”, “domus in qua habitant habet introitum de versus sero de aliis nescit,” and “nescit set credit versus sero”).<sup>61</sup> Vincentius offered the rather gratuitous detail that the entrance was through a door (“ab ostio habent introitum”).<sup>62</sup>

Guillelmus de Vigolo described the conventual buildings next to their church to the east (“alias domos fecerunt fieri iuxta ecclesiam suam in dicto loco versus orientem.”)<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, his description does not make clear whether he meant that the church was to the east or whether the buildings were east of the church. Presbiter Iacobus testified to one

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<sup>59</sup> That these two terms might refer to the same space is supported by the fact that no witness uses both terms; they choose one or the other. *Parlatorium* may have been the more frequently-used term in the Franciscan context, as was tentatively agreed upon at the conference, “Varia et immense mutatio 1310. Percorsi nei cantieri architettonici e pittorici della Basilica di Sant’Antonio in Padova,” held in the Sala dello Studio Teologico al Santo, Basilica del Santo in Padova on May 20, 2010. A general discussion following the conference addressed the use of the term “parlatorio,” as reflected in the paper presented by Alessandro Simbeni, “Le pitture del ‘parlatorio’ nel convento di Sant’Antonio: l’intervento di Giotto e la tradizione iconografica del *Lignum vitae*.” While Simbeni’s paper cited documents that referred to the ancillary space to the chapter house as the *parlatorio*, it was also suggested in the context of the conversation that the term referred to a general meeting space in Franciscan convents.

<sup>60</sup> Antolinus, f. 45, l. 21-22, cap. 17-19

<sup>61</sup> Antolinus, f. 45, l. 26, cap. 17-19; Presbiter Iacobus, f. 62, l. 41-42, cap. 17-19; Gerardus, f. 56, l. 38, cap. 17-19

<sup>62</sup> Vincentius, f. 22, l. 20-21, cap. 17-19

<sup>63</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo, f. 40, l. 15-16, cap. 17-19

building close to the *ecclesiam maiorem* where they live, stables, and structures close to the *viaculam* between the major streets (“*unam domum versus ecclesiam maiorem in qua habitant et stallas*”) and (“*domos fecerunt fieri in loco qui est versus viam per quam itur a strata de supramuro usque ad aliam viam predictam*”).<sup>64</sup>

The final references to conventual buildings noted work being completed at the time of the inquest. Presbiter Vincentius testified that the friars were working on a portico, which may refer to the cloister (“*ad una porticum ut audivit dici*”).<sup>65</sup> Antolinus reported only that they were constructing buildings in which they lived (“*domos ad habitandum in quantum nescit*”).<sup>66</sup>

## Typological, Stylistic & Constructive Distinction of the Chevet

Along with the repeated references to the northeast zone of the site early on during construction and to early work being completed on the church, two textual references indicate that work had progressed significantly on the chevet by 1282. A notary recorded Iohannes de Vigoleno’s arrival “in the choir of the new convent” in 1282 to deliver a summons to the friars (“*Anno dominice incarnem millo ducento octuagente secundo indictione decima die dominico secundo mensis augusti placentie in choro domus nove fratrum et conventus de ordine Minorum.*”)<sup>67</sup> Guillelmus de Vigolo testified that at the time of the inquest, they were putting a roof over the church (“*ad clavandam ecclesiam suam cum una traube*”).<sup>68</sup>

Reference to a roof over the church in 1282 indicates that walls capable of supporting a roof had been built. However, establishing the location of the roof is impossible. The friars built in micro-campaigns, reflected in the stylistic variety throughout the church. The date of 1386 painted on the nave vaults signify that construction on the basic structure lasted just over a century. The church was in constant use throughout that time. There was no definitive moment of “completion.” Practical considerations would have dictated the construction of roofs when possible. The multiplicity of decorative motifs on the ground

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<sup>64</sup> Presbiter Iacobus, f. 62, l. 30-31, cap. 17-19; Presbiter Iacobus, f. 62, l. 47-48, cap. 17-19

<sup>65</sup> Vincentius, f. 20, l. 28-29

<sup>66</sup> Antolinus, f. 43, l. 44

<sup>67</sup> f. 82, l. 37-38

<sup>68</sup> Guillelmus, f. 38, l. 37

floor perimeter wall do not imply a definitive break in construction that would represent the initial western extent of the church, at that point probably only a single story, covered by the 1282 roof. Since the vault over the choir was built before the rest of the upper stories, the 1282 roof was probably not in the east end, unless the choir vault was completely finished, which, even for the ambitious labor force, is impossibly quick. The interruptions observed in the lower stories of the east end demonstrate that some of the micro-campaigns were already halted during those early phases, therefore not suggesting that the necessary substructure in the east end for the choir vaults would have been among the very first completed parts of the church. The 1282 roof was probably over the space that functioned as the nave, which could extend as far west as the A6/E6 line, the A4/E4 line, or potentially all the way to the façade (Figure 36). Given the many repeated starts and stops observed in the construction of the east end, the roof in 1282 was most likely built over the low-walled western part of the building between the A4/E4 line in the west and the beginning of the choir vaults in the east at the A6/E6 line. This area could have been covered long before the central vaults were completed in the east end. The two western bays and the area extending to the west (whether or not it was an enclosed nave space) would have served the lay population, while the space east of A6/E6 would have been reserved for the friars.}

These repeated breaks support the theory that the friars may have intentionally maintained an aura of “work in progress” in order to stimulate fundraising.<sup>69</sup> The micro-campaigns continued until construction reached the upper stories, which maintained more consistent articulation. Whether inside or outside, once the friars had the cleared space, they could hold services whether or not the “church” was built. Thus, the space had functioned as a nave before the architecture had been built.

The east end is stylistically distinct from the rest of the church. The capital and window moldings, and respond articulation on the ground floor of the perimeter wall vary widely (Figures 48, 51, 52, 68, 80). Molding profiles on all of the east-end bases, in the chapels and the choir, while different from each other, are the most articulated bases in the church

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<sup>69</sup> Caroline Bruzelius, “The Dead come to Town: Preaching, Burying and Building in the Mendicant Orders,” in *The year 1300 and the creation of a new European architecture*, ed. Alexandra Gajewski (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007).

(Figure 58). The window moldings in the eastern chapels are different from those on the perimeter wall (Figure 59). The profiles of these windows are straight-edged and the windows take up almost the entire surface of the chapel walls. The chapels and the adjacent first bay of the south perimeter wall are also the only part of the church with carved capitals (Figures 60-62).

Scholars have often been drawn to the east end of the building, since the plan type is so uncommon on the Italian peninsula.<sup>70</sup> Piacenza has one of only four Franciscan churches in Italy with an ambulatory and chapels behind the choir. The other three are the basilica of Sant'Antonio in Padua, San Francesco in Bologna, and San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples. While the configuration at Piacenza resembles San Francesco in nearby Bologna, there was not enough space for the chapels to "radiate" around the ambulatory. Instead, the builders simulated the effect of radiating within the limitations presented by the site (Figures 37-38).

Three constructive features of the ambulatory and apse chapels achieve the effect that the chapels radiate despite being confined between the perimeter walls: the rounded hemicycle that defines the choir (Figures 39-40), the pentagonal vaults that spatially cohere the north and south aisles and the ambulatory (Figures 41-42), and the subtle distortion of the piers between the apse chapels (Figure 43). The slight tilt of the right and left pier bundles toward the ambulatory is imperceptible when viewing them head on, but their profiles reveal the *trompe l'oeil*. The spatial limitations of the site revealed in these creative adaptations of the radiating chapel typology support the hypothesis that the perimeter walls were begun first, forcing the builders' ambitions to be contained between them. While the entrance to the southernmost apse chapel is defined along the south perimeter wall by the same responds found in the rest of the church, the north chapel vault rests on an awkwardly situated corbel, suggesting that it was fitted into a preexisting space (Figures 40, 44).

Construction on the piers encircling the choir, necessary to support the ambulatory vaults, followed. The first construction phases within the east end can therefore be outlined:

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<sup>70</sup> Cadei, "Cori francescani ad ambulacro e cappelle radiali." ; Giovanna Valenzano, "Architettura Gotica nelle Chiese di Piacenza," in *Storia di Piacenza: Dalla Signora Viscontea al Principato Farnesiano (1313-1545)*, ed. Piero Castignoli, 6 vols., vol. 3 (Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co., 1997); Schenkluhn, *Ordines studentes: Aspekte zur Kirchenarchitektur der Dominikaner und Franziskaner im 13. Jahrhundert*.

(1) perimeter walls, (2) apse chapels, (3) choir hemicycle piers, and (4) ambulatory vaults (Figure 53).

## Broad Patterns in the Articulation of the Perimeter Wall

The perimeter wall decoration is complex. The first clear break on the exterior of the building is along the wall at A7-8-9 where two distinct cornice motifs meet (Figure 65). The break in the cornice detail is continued in a suture along the wall below. To the left of that suture and on the apse chapels, the span of the pattern is wider, and the drop molding comes to a point. To the right of the suture and throughout the rest of the church, the molding comes to a square drop and has a slightly narrower span, with more clearly accentuated scallops.

Complicating the already varied decoration of these walls, lateral chapels were added between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, and some were then removed later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (one chapel added in the nineteenth century, was removed less than a century later). However, the demolished chapels left scars on the exterior of the building where earlier photographs and plans have documented their former locations. Two plans from 1924 and 1932 show where an exterior building at E5-6 and the baptistery and several exterior structures at E1-2 were removed sometime in between (Figure 45). Two photographs from the 1920s document these now demolished structures (Figure 46). The mass of buildings clustered to the south of the convent was one of the main preoccupations of the twentieth-century restorers. By 1932, they had succeeded in eliminating them. The exterior walls today display where these structures used to be (Figure 47).

The window moldings where these two chapels were removed are distinct from one another on the exterior. The molding on E1-2 is a smooth, single plane, while the one at E4-5 has rounded step moldings. The exterior view indicates where the lancets have been reconstructed below the apex of the arch. Above the damaged part of the wall, the window molding had been preserved, and the restorers completed the lower parts. The north wall of the nave abutted the major thoroughfare of the Via Publica/Via XX Settembre, resulting in the addition of fewer chapels. The differences between the two window molding types



reappear on the north side of the church, defining some broad stylistic similarities among the multitude of micro-campaigns along the nave perimeter wall (Figure 50).

The window molding profiles at A7-8-9, A5-6, A4-5 and A1-2 appear similar to each other at first glance; only A3-4 is immediately apparent as an anomaly with its flat-edged molding and scallops in the place of the trilobes (Figure 48). However, there are subtle differences between the superficially similar moldings. The molding at A7-8-9 has a more projecting impost and a rounder arch than those at A5-6 and A4-5. The impost at A1-2 has a double ridge, making it slightly wider than the others. The top edge of the window arch at A1-2 is more sharply defined, and the bricks are smoother and darker. A1-2, while made to match the moldings to the east, betrays a different constructional context. Additionally, the similar double-ridged impost at A3-4, suggests some continuity with A1-2. The double impost, flat moldings, and scallops return on the façade, forming a coherent group with A3-4 and E1-2 (Figure 49). While the differences could be the result of modern restorations, the exposure of the flat molding type at E1-2 above the damaged wall suggests that it was not the result of restorations. The line between A4/E4 might thus represent the initial extent of the nave in 1282. The return of the window molding type from the east end at A1-2 is more problematic. It is unclear why the masons would have shifted back to an approximation of the earlier window type.

The ground floor window moldings on the interior of the church also reveal several different stylistic paradigms (Figure 51). The moldings in the east end are generally more rounded at the top, while those in the nave are truncated arches intersecting smooth window jambs. The more rounded shape then returns on the façade, however the details of the moldings are distinct. Whereas the exterior wall made clear where the windows had been reconstructed, the interior moldings do not disclose that history in the same way. However, since the exterior of E1-2 indicates reconstruction below the apex of the arch, the uniformity of this molding type throughout the window moldings on the nave interior suggest that their smooth lines below their truncated arches were all restored. The windows in the chevet and on the façade were not reconstructed since they had not been subject to the addition of chapels and other decoration that had damaged the window moldings in the rest of the nave.

Therefore, while the variations in the curves of the arches do not illustrate the church campaigns, the differences in the articulation of the moldings still suggest their original construction, particularly in the chevet and on the façade where it is least likely they were damaged. The micro-campaigns suggested by their variety are supported by the rest of the nave articulation.

The horizontal profiles of the nave perimeter wall responds indicate their most significant break from rounded to squared responds at the A<sub>4</sub>/E<sub>4</sub> line, aligning with the major break seen in the exterior window articulation (Figure 52). The profiles demonstrate other variations within the broad categories: two responds on the south wall of the chevet have double responds, and in the far southwest, on the corner with the façade and in the adjacent bay, round responds return. The pilaster in that corner at E<sub>1</sub> has a uniquely squared-off main shaft. The round responds on that pilaster are a foil to the one opposite at A<sub>1</sub>, with a rounded profile framed by squared responds.

The base molding profiles in the ambulatory chapels were altered from their original appearance, which had been congruent with those along the perimeter wall. The apse chapel bases are semi-obsured by a step, except the slivers facing the ambulatory between the individual chapels (Figures 54-57, 66). The profiles of the bases where the step covers them appear only to have a peculiar cavet molding, carved out from within the thickness of the pier bricks. The cavet added articulation to the bases when the addition of the step obscured the torus moldings. The chevet base profiles with the cavet infilled are the same as those along the nave perimeter (Figure 67).

## Micro-Campaigns in the Chevet

While the broad patterns that unite the church's architecture provide a general narrative of construction, the details reveal almost constant interruption of that narrative. A shift in brick size partway up the piers separating the apse chapels indicates a break in construction very early in the process. At C<sub>9</sub> and D<sub>9</sub>, the shift occurs about 1.5 meters off the ground, while at B<sub>9</sub> the break occurs at 115 cm. The bricks on B<sub>9</sub> shift from over 8 cm to 7-7.5 cm, C<sub>9</sub> shifts from 7.5 to 6.5 cm, and D<sub>9</sub> shifts from alternating between 7.5-8-cm bricks to uniformly 7.5 cm bricks the rest of the way up.

The articulation of the bay immediately adjacent to the southernmost apse chapel sets it apart from the rest of the south perimeter wall. The subtle differences of the interior window molding profile at E6-7, the double responds at E6 and E7, and the only sculpted capital outside of the ambulatory at E7 (Figure 62) are unique to that bay. If limited resources were available for decoration, they would be concentrated in the space of the friars' privileged access. The increased sculptural detail links the work completed in this area with the four ambulatory chapels adjacent to it. A stylistic break before the top of E6 suggests that the campaign did not get far (Figure 68). E7 would have been sufficient, together with the chapel and choir piers, to build the pentagonal ambulatory vault in the southeast corner at DE7-8-9, followed by the vaults at CD8-9 and BC8-9.

A later constructional phase of the wall shafts continued at E4, E5, E6, and A4, while A5, A6, and A7 were begun and halted a little less than two meters from the ground. The round responds on the shafts unite these piers as a stylistic group, but the capitals and shafts at A5, A6, and A7 were not completed in a subsequent moment. A5, A6, and A7 reflect a shift in the height of the bricks from 7.5 to 6.5 cm. The shift occurs on A5 about 177 cm from the ground, at A6, 172 cm from the ground, and, at A7, only 121 cm from the ground. These shifts are too low to correlate with an early roof, however just to the right of A7 is the exterior suture at the cornice level. The pause could be the result of space constraints as the masons were also completing the nave piers and the ambulatory vaults in the east end.

The blocks from which the four capitals at E4, E5, E6, and A4 were carved were all approximately the same size, resulting in capitals of similar dimensions (Figure 68). However, E4 and E5 are more refined and attenuated, with a steeper profile, while E6 and A4 remain unfinished. E6 is also distinct for its double responds, linking it with E7 to the east and the stylistic paradigm of the ambulatory. A4, on the north wall, while similar in size and shape to E6 and the finished capitals at E4 and E5, also resembles the capitals on A5, A6, and A7, which are wide, flat, and disc-like (Figure 68). Although the group of pilasters is united by the round responds that would adhere to the broad patterns of construction, it is also substantially divided by constructional breaks and sculptural differences.

The completion of the choir piers at B6 and B7, the ambulatory vaults behind the choir and to the south at DE67, DE789, CD89, and BC89, and the pilasters at A6, and A7 were completed up to their capitals, the final ambulatory vaults at AB789 and AB67 were built. Once construction began on the wall above the choir piers, the roof over the chapels was built (Figure 69).

## Upper Stories of the Choir & Transept

Construction on the upper stories of the east end continued soon after the sale of the friars' former convent, sanctioned by a papal bull in 1289.<sup>71</sup> A plaque on the church exterior in the cloister just outside the south portal, dated 1294, supports the hypothesis of rapid construction in the east end at the end of the thirteenth century (Figure 70).

The choir windows have a different relationship to the wall than the chapels below. In contrast with the chapel windows' that nearly eliminate the wall, the windows around the choir above are small and surrounded by a significant wall plane (Figures 71, 59). The window moldings are also more articulated in the eastern upper stories. The rounded moldings have multiple cavets compared with the straight-edged profile of the ambulatory chapel window moldings and the square-stepped moldings on the ground floor in the ambulatory (Figures 71-74).

With the choir vault under construction, as well as the flying buttresses over the aisles, ambulatory, and chapels in the east end, work began on the more robust substructure to the west at B5 and D5, which would be necessary to support the the upper story of the transept and the vaults of the transept arms. The piers at B5 and D5 are distinct from those in the east end: although the bricks are similar in size to the piers at B6 and D6, there is a shift in their texture and the size of their mortar beds. There is also a greater variation in brick height on B5 and D5 (between 6 to 7.5 cm and 6-8 cm, respectively) than on B6 and D6, which are more uniformly 7 cm high. The widths and lengths of the bricks on B6 and D6 are also slightly more slender, with a mode of 7 x 10 x 27 cm to the B5/D5 bricks' 7-7.5 x 11.5 x 28

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<sup>71</sup> *Ex parte vestra*, Nicolas IV, 1289, edited in Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica*, volume 3, pp. 266-267. "In order to build the place they had begun building recently, since they had nothing of their own, that they could sell the site where they first were located in the city and the price received from it could be converted into the new building."

cm. The bricks on B<sub>5</sub> and D<sub>5</sub> are in turn distinct from the piers to the west in the rest of the nave, constituting their own constructive moment, and separating the construction of the transept arms from further construction of the upper story. More piers would be necessary before the upper story could be continued into the nave.

## Completion of Perimeter Wall

Brick measurements on the perimeter wall point to an equally sporadic completion of the western bays (Figures 75-76). The pilasters in the far western bays, including those on the façade, have larger mortar beds than those to the east. The bricks also become smaller to the west, but do not indicate a definitive break. In general, the north nave wall's mortar beds are often larger than those on the south wall, which could indicate that they were later since the perimeter wall trends toward smaller bricks and wider mortar beds. The base molding profiles along the perimeter wall are mostly uniform (Figure 77). The variation at E<sub>3</sub> and E<sub>2</sub>, where the plinth is raised over the chapel steps, reflects where the chapel along the E<sub>2</sub>-3 wall was later inserted (Figure 6, 78). On the north wall, the step was instead placed in front of the bases (Figure 79). The variety and incompleteness of the perimeter wall pilaster capitals also continues to the west (Figure 80). The capitals at A<sub>2</sub> and E<sub>2</sub> are slightly more finished than those at A<sub>3</sub> and E<sub>3</sub>, however the basic shapes of the capitals are also different. The capitals in the corners at A<sub>1</sub> and E<sub>1</sub> have similar profiles, as do the two on the façade at B<sub>1</sub> and D<sub>1</sub>. However the wide variety within the second group of capitals suggests that sporadic construction continued into the western half of the nave.

## Nave Piers

With the construction of the piers at B<sub>4</sub> and D<sub>4</sub>, the upper stories of D<sub>4</sub>-5 and B<sub>4</sub>-5 could be built. The piers at B<sub>4</sub> and D<sub>4</sub> are closely related in their construction to the other nave piers, suggesting that all six were built at once (B<sub>2</sub>, 3, 4 and D<sub>2</sub>, 3, 4). Stylistic similarities between the upper stories at B<sub>4</sub>-5 and D<sub>4</sub>-5 link the first nave bay to the upper stories in the east (Figure 81). The nave was extended to the west on the ground story with the perimeter wall and the piers west of the A<sub>4</sub>/E<sub>4</sub> line before the upper stories were

extended past the line. The nave vaults were not completed until 1386, until which the western extension of the nave remained a single story.

The piers in the east end were built early on in order to support the ambulatory and choir vaults. The wooden roof that covered the early nave in 1282 would not have required heavy, load-bearing piers, nor did the nave extend all the way to its current terminus in the west. The craftsmanship of the east end piers, particularly in the brick laying technique, is also completely different than those in the nave. The choir piers have smaller, more precise mortar beds and smoother bricks compared with the wide beds and rough, textured bricks in the nave. The nave bricks are darker and project out from the mortar beds more prominently than in the choir, with unfinished bases, and slightly shorter capitals (Figures 82-85).

The subtle variations between the bricks of the two sets of octagonal piers establish a first break at the crossing. The brick profiles in the choir piers relate to those in the octagonal piers. The height and width of the bricks have a visible impact on the aesthetic of the pier's coursing. For example, the piers behind the choir at B7, B8, C8, D8, and D7 have consistent lengths between 34-35 cm. Their heights are also usually 7-7.5 cm. However, there is a subtle but perceptible shift from B8, C8, and D8 where the widths are between 10-11 cm, to B7 and D7, where the widths are 13-13.5 cm. The wider bricks change the ratio of individual bricks to their courses. The change is particularly noticeable on the finite space of a pier. The bricks in the nave at B2-B4 and D2-D4 increase to 36.5 cm long by 8 cm tall by 14 cm wide, which appear large in comparison with the east end.

Events from the building's restoration confirm the chronology of the piers. The piers in the choir are shown to be pre-restoration by the marks of an earlier presbytery approximately 80 cm tall. In an 1888 article, "La Chiesa di S. Francesco," Camillo Guidotti, the future head of restorations at San Francesco, reported that restorers had demolished the raised sanctuary in 1880, leaving it elevated by the two steps there today.<sup>72</sup> The marks visible today on the east piers verify that they were extant at the time the raised presbytery was demolished in 1880. They also painted all of the walls of the interior and took down a large

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<sup>72</sup> Guidotti, "La chiesa di S. Francesco," 104.

Baroque pulpit that had been attached to the nave pier at B4.<sup>73</sup> The removal of the pulpit ignited one of two major campaigns of restorations to the nave piers.

The plaster referenced in the 1880 restorations was removed from the nave piers beginning in 1916. In letters from July and November of that year, Guidotti referred to removing plaster, revealing that both the piers of the nave and the semi-columns and ribbing against the perimeter walls were made of brick.<sup>74</sup> An accounts list described an expense for cleaning the surface of the eight nave piers. The language of “paramento”, used to describe that which was cleaned, indicates that there was something applied to the piers that the restorers removed. In addition, the item overtly indicated that the process was in order to return the piers to their “aspetto primitivo.”<sup>75</sup> In 1922, they were still incurring expenses for bricks for the nave piers.<sup>76</sup> The sum total paid to one Augusto Bisotti, the person in charge of wall works, from 1919-23 was 38,280 lire. Additional thousands of lire were spent on purchasing the materials. A guidebook from 1842 described the nave’s fat columns and the pilasters that spring from them to meet up on the vault.<sup>77</sup> The appearance of these “columns” was not further described, which neither proves nor disproves whether they were covered in plaster, but does leave it open to possibility. The most likely scenario is that they were covered in plaster until the 1920s, and their current chipped-away appearance is a result of the removal of that plaster at that date.

By 1921, major restorations to the piers were underway, documented by a receipt for materials sent to the church, totaling a weight of 20 metric tons. The materials listed included bricks for both round and octagonal piers, as well as “semi-circular walls.”<sup>78</sup> Almost 5,000 bricks were shipped to the church. Two additional letters by Guidotti hint at the

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid. According to Livia Bertelli, who directed restorations on San Francesco in the 1980s, and wrote the entry dedicated to San Francesco in the 1984 volume, Livia Bertelli, “San Francesco,” in *Gotico, Neogotico, Ipergotico: Architettura e arti decorative a Piacenza, 1856-1915*, ed. Marco Dezzi Bardeschi (Bologna: Grafis, 1984), 159., the damaged pier was B4, evidently the most damaged of the nave piers.

<sup>74</sup> Letter about Restorations, 1916. San Francesco in Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e del Paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma.

<sup>75</sup> Fabbisogno delle spese occorrenti per il completamento dei Restauri nell'Interno del Tempio, 1921. Ibid. Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e per il Paesaggio,

<sup>76</sup> Riassunto Pagamenti da 1923, 1923. San Francesco in Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e per il Paesaggio, Parma.

<sup>77</sup> *Nuovissima Guida della Città di Piacenza con Alquanti Cenni Topografici, Statistici e Storici*, (Piacenza: Tipografia di Domenico Tagliaferri, 1842), 90.

<sup>78</sup> Letter confirming shipment of bricks to San Francesco, 1921. San Francesco in Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e per il Paesaggio, Parma.

destination of these bricks. In the first, from December of 1920, he confirmed receipt of the brick samples, but complained that the sample for the octagonal piers near the sanctuary was missing. Patches on the choir piers correspond to where they were restored. In June of 1921, Guidotti wrote a letter describing the damage to the pier at D<sub>3</sub> in detail. His description of the damage caused by the plaster they were removing betrayed his distaste for the Baroque. They tried to smooth out the fissures and cracks in the pier, which rendered the pier too weak to carry the load of the arcade, wall, and vaults above. He noted, however, that even with all the damage to the pier, there were no cracks or signs of stress in the capital or the walls above. The interventions resulted in the reconstruction of much of the pier facing. Guidotti stressed that structural problems were still a threat and that they should not be content with the temporary solution currently in place and recommended further enforcement.

The records show which piers were heavily restored and which were only patched. The piers at B<sub>4</sub> and D<sub>3</sub> were almost completely replaced, apparent in their more weathered appearance. However, the main differences between the nave and choir piers are the reflection of differences in their construction, not the restorations. The places where bricks were replaced are easily identifiable, and so the majority of the bricks on the piers and the overall constructional context between the pier groups can be compared.

## Construction of the Aisle Vaults, Crossing Vault, Upper Story & Vault at BD<sub>4-5</sub>

With the nave piers built, construction began on the aisle vaults. They are between two and three meters taller than the ambulatory vaults, again distinguishing the campaigns in the east and west (Figure 86). The aisle vaults at AB<sub>45</sub> and DE<sub>45</sub> are 13.658 and 13.545 meters high, but then reduce to 13.3 and 13.127 meters at AB<sub>34</sub> and DE<sub>34</sub>. The aisle vault heights remain at the slightly lower height through to the west end of the aisles. The vault ribs in the nave aisles are similar to those in the ambulatory, but slightly more projecting.

The vaults over the crossing and at BD<sub>4-5</sub> were completed at the same time as the expansion of the church to the west. The roll-and-fillet moldings of the ribs in the choir and the transept arms compared with the keel moldings introduced in the crossing suggest a



slight break between campaigns. The completion of the vaults in the crossing and above the first nave bay was the last major break before the final constructional phase on the building in the fourteenth century, which concluded in 1386 with the completion of the upper stories of the west nave, the three western nave vaults, and the façade (Figure 87).

## “Completion” of the Church

Although the keel rib first introduced in the crossing is carried over into the western vaults, the painted date of 1386 at BD3-4 separates the vaults to the west (Figure 99). The distinction of the western upper stories is also evident in the shift in window molding profiles between B4-5 and B3-4, and between D4-5 and D3-4 (Figures 88-89). The molding profiles in the west are reduced in their complexity and the window outlines are shallower. The toruses of the oculi are also more tubular. The oculus on the façade, part of the same group, was heavily restored and thus harder to contextualize. The triforium openings on the walls at D4-5 and B4-5 are different from those further west. However, that same opening type is seen twice in the choir: both at triforium and clerestory level (Figures 71, 74). The trilobed molding pattern of the openings resembles the exterior cornice moldings, linking the easternmost nave bay with the earlier constructional phases.

In addition to the early shift in the cornice articulation in the east end at A7-8-9, there is a more obvious shift in the moldings to the west (Figure 3). Close to the façade, at A3 and A2, an intersecting arch motif replaces the trilobed cornice molding. Those cornices were demonstrably missing in a 1920s photograph, confirming that some of the intersecting arches are the product of subsequent restorations (Figure 90). The restored cornices are also present along the south wall and on the façade (Figure 91-92). The production of the “Piacentine” pinnacle and cornice type of the restoration period can be seen throughout the city on the exterior of medieval churches. The church of Sant’Antonino, for example, has been treated with the same cornice moldings and restored pinnacles in the twentieth century as those at San Francesco (Figure 93).

There are a few other variations on the cornices and stringcourses on both the north and south flanks of the church (Figures 94-95). However, the primary trilobed pattern is carried all the way to the facade. The small variations indicate micro-campaigns, rather than

restorations. The exterior of the campanile reveals the same trilobed pattern, with more elongated drop moldings, to be viewed from a greater distance on the ground below. The embedded campanile above the ambulatory was completed together with the choir vaults and transept arms.

On the lower story, bricks are only exposed and can only be measured on the piers and pilasters. However, above the aisle vaults, the bricks are exposed on the nave and choir walls, on the aisle and ambulatory vaults, in the campanile, and on the perimeter wall (Figures 96-98). The vault bricks are significantly smaller than the wall bricks, which is probably more the result of function than chronology. A majority of bricks in the upper story are 6-6.5 x 11 x 29 cm with mortar beds between 1-2 cm. The coursing between the upper story of the nave wall and the façade is continuous. The continuity in the upper story reflects a more uniform fourteenth-century campaign.

The date of 1386 also appears in two inscriptions on the lower story of the east end: on the pier at D6 (Figures 100-101) and one of the three tombstones on the wall at E7-8-9 (Figure 104). The other two tombstones are from 1340 and 1373, respectively (Figures 102-103). The repetition of 1386 reinforces its significance to the fourteenth-century campaign. Campi recorded a consecration date of 1365 in his ecclesiastical history of Piacenza, an event strategically linked to the 1386 date as a stimulus for the donations that facilitated the church's completion over the next two decades. The opposite of the "aesthetic of incompleteness" documented in the inquest, and maintained through the early-fourteenth-century campaigns, the construction stimulated by the consecration and commemorated in the inscriptions represents a moment when the friars dangled a nearly finished product before the community as the motivation for donation.

## CHAPTER 5

### *Spatial, Symbolic & Epistemological Deployment of Medieval Architecture in Risorgimento Italy*

#### Historicism & the Destabilization of the Sign: Chronological Definition of a Paradigm Shift

Napoleon's invasion of the Italian peninsula and suppression of the monasteries in 1796-1814 initiated a semiotic rupture for the monuments of Catholicism.<sup>1</sup> All monastic and conventual establishments were closed, the religious communities evicted, and their archives moved to state institutions. The territorial invasion and institutional suppression destabilized the signs (churches) of the old regime, opening them up to new potential meaning by new regimes in competition with the Church. Habermas notably explained the semiotic destabilization that occurred when cultural products entered the public sphere during the emergence of the bourgeois class:

as commodities they became generally accessible. They no longer remained components of the Church's and court's publicity of representation; that is precisely what was meant by the loss of their aura of extraordinariness and by the profaning of their once sacramental character. The private people for whom the cultural product became available as a commodity profaned it inasmuch as they had to determine its meaning on their own (by way of rational communication with one another), verbalize it, and thus state explicitly what precisely in its implicitness for so long could assert its authority.<sup>2</sup>

The Church's institutional rhetoric marked (and continues to mark) the 1798 closure of San Francesco in Piacenza as a sinister event, preceded by a golden era of Church authority and a correspondingly unsullied monastic convent.<sup>3</sup> Compounding the significance of that historical moment, historiography from other institutional perspectives points to the same chronological break as the beginning of the church's history as a national monument.

The semiotic destabilization of San Francesco produced conflict, appropriation, expropriation, rededication, reconsecration, repristination, and restoration in the contest for its civic significance. Military regiments used the church and convent as a hospital and depot

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<sup>1</sup> Alan J. Reinerman, "The Napoleonic Suppression of Italian Religious Orders and Sale of Their Property: Studies since 1960," *The Catholic Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (July) (1971): 290.

<sup>2</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, 1st paperback ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the Basilica of San Francesco in the City of Piacenza, this Curia can furnish the following summarial historical notes (March 29, 1922), 1922. San Francesco in Piacenza. SBAPPPP,

from 1798-1806, installing a ramp for wagons to enter through the west façade.<sup>4</sup> In 1806, the church was reopened under new dedication to Saint Napoleon.<sup>5</sup> Following the 1814 political restoration, the local curia acted strategically to protect its property from future alienation: they dedicated the former Franciscan convent to San Francesco for the first time in 1818 and converted it into a parish, rather than repatriate it to the Franciscans.<sup>6</sup> The new dedication was inscribed on the façade above the main portal, replacing the name of San Napoleone.<sup>7</sup> Forty-five years later, after Piacenza's annexation to the Kingdom of Sardinia, San Francesco's status as a parish prevented its confiscation by the Italian government. Legislation passed in 1866 and 1870 limited the Church's property rights to sacred buildings, rectories, and those necessary for administration.<sup>8</sup> The parish did not regain control over the alienated convent after the 1814 political restoration, with the exception of part of the east arm of the former cloisters, which served as the parochial rectory.

Although it remained the property of the Church, San Francesco was nevertheless at the center of the semiotic contestation that accompanied the formation of the new nation-state. Across Italy, the newly established Ministry of Public Instruction furthered the young government's nationalist agenda through two broad ideological programs. In the first, the ministry invented and advanced the concept of national monuments through institutions and legislation that asserted state authority over the conservation of objects of historic or artistic worth. In the second, they promoted region-based historicism by establishing learned societies and through regionally inflected historical, ethnological, linguistic, and art-historical scholarship. Through these programs, the national ministry directly and indirectly steered the conversion of San Francesco into a national monument.

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<sup>4</sup> Nasalli, "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza."

<sup>5</sup> Emmanuelli, *Il Tempio dei SS. Protaso e Francesco in Piacenza*; Nasalli, "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza."

<sup>6</sup> "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza," 36. Prior to the nineteenth century, the church had been dedicated to the Virgin. Nasalli suggests that the church had been popularly known as San Francesco long before it bore that official dedication.

<sup>7</sup> Emmanuelli, *Il Tempio dei SS. Protaso e Francesco in Piacenza*.

<sup>8</sup> Mattia Moresco, "Fabbriceria," in *Enciclopedia italiana* (1932). Moresco cites two laws: July 7, 1866, article 18, n. 2 and article 33; August 11, 1870, allegato P, art. 3-4.

## THE INFINITE REPRODUCIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL MONUMENT IN THE AGE OF MECHANICAL REPRODUCTION

The way the Italian nation-state utilized the architecture of the Middle Ages to build its Italian brand can be compared to the practices that Benedict Anderson identified in the colonial regimes of Southeast Asia. The ubiquitous process by which medieval buildings in Europe were cleaned up, restored, and historicized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries recalls Anderson's narrative, in which "the grandeurs of the Borobudur, of Angkor, of Pagan, and of other ancient sites were successively disinterred, unjungled, measured, photographed, reconstructed, fenced off, analysed, and displayed."<sup>9</sup> Anderson offered the example of the "museumizing of the Borobudur, the largest Buddhist stupa in the world":

In 1814, the Raffles regime 'discovered' it, and had it unjungled. In 1845, the self-promoting German artist-adventurer Schaefer persuaded the Dutch authorities in Batavia to pay him to make the first daguerreotypes. In 1851, Batavia sent a team of state employees, led by civil engineer F.C. Wilsen, to make a systematic survey of the bas-reliefs and to produce a complete, 'scientific' set of lithographs. In 1874, Dr. C. Leemans, Director of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, published, at the behest of the Minister of Colonies, the first major scholarly monograph; he relied heavily on Wilsen's lithographs, never having visited the site himself. In the 1880s, the professional photographer Cephass produced a thorough modern-style photographic survey. In 1901, the colonial regime established an Oudheidkundige Commissie (Commission on Antiquities.) Between 1907 and 1911, the Commission oversaw the complete restoration of the stupa, carried out at state expense by a team under the civil engineer Van Erp. Doubtless in recognition of this success, the Commission was promoted, in 1913, to an Oudheidkundigen Dienst (Antiquities Service), which kept the monument spick and span until the end of the colonial period.<sup>10</sup>

The process by which the monument was reclaimed, cleaned, catalogued, categorized, and historicized under increasingly bureaucratized authority mirrors the course of events in Piacenza and elsewhere in Italy where early restorations in the nineteenth-century aimed at maintenance, followed by increased state attention, which at first attempted a nation-wide inventory of monuments, and finally the state institutions of conservation and their restorations.

Anderson offered several explanations as to why colonial states invested so much in the archaeological pursuit. Some of his arguments were specific to the colonies, but the

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<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 179.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

reason he deemed most important resonates with practices performed by the European nation-states on both their collective ancient past and individual medieval pasts:

Monumental archaeology, increasingly linked to tourism, allowed the state to appear as the guardian of a generalized, but also local, Tradition. The old sacred sites were to be incorporated into the map of the colony, and their ancient prestige (which, if this had disappeared, as it often had, the state would attempt to revive) draped around the mappers.<sup>11</sup>

For Anderson, the monument as regalia was an important synecdoche of state authority, which could be visually reproduced as a logo of its identity. He identified a system in which the museumized monument, like the colonial map and the census, illustrated the grammar of colonial ideologies and policies in the age of mechanical reproduction. The reproducibility of the image of the monument was central to its deployment by the colonial regime, “a reproducibility made technically possible by print and photography, but politico-culturally by the disbelief of the rulers themselves in the real sacredness of local sites.”<sup>12</sup> Colonial archaeology

created the series ‘ancient monuments,’ segmented within the classificatory geographic-demographic box.[...]Conceived within this profane series, each ruin became available for surveillance and infinite replication. As the colonial state’s archaeological service made it technically possible to assemble the series in mapped and photographed form, the state itself could regard the series, up historical time, as an album of its ancestors.<sup>13</sup>

Anderson emphasized the “replicable *series*” that “created a historical depth of field.”<sup>14</sup> The classificatory impulse he identified is useful in thinking through the reproducibility of the medieval form, building plan type, and classifications within the great national taxonomies of medieval architecture, the press, state institutions, popular culture, and opinion.

The institution of the colonial census, which continually honed its ethnic and racial classifications, was remarkable “not in the *construction* of ethnic-racial classifications, but rather in their systematic *quantification* (Anderson’s italics).”<sup>15</sup> Colonial conquerors had already been classifying the populations they encountered for centuries, but the totalizing nature of the nineteenth-century scientific taxonomies created something new. Military

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 181-182.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 168.

surveyors likewise “were on the march to put space under the same surveillance which the census-makers were trying to impose on persons.”<sup>16</sup>

Renard noted Anderson and other scholars’ attention to the replicable series of monuments, citing specific publications in the late nineteenth-century Italian project of defining, studying, diffusing, and restoring cultural patrimony.<sup>17</sup> In particular, Renard demonstrated how the publication of journals, reviews, and guides, and the diffusion of images established a canon of regional stereotypes indexed by their monuments. Renard traced the diffusion of “patrimonial aura” through these cultural products, which in turn contributed to public enthusiasm for the preservation of that patrimony.<sup>18</sup> He cited the publications *Illustrazione Italiana* (shortly after unification), *Le Cento Città d’Italia illustrate* (1887), and particularly *Italia Artistica* (1900), published by Corrado Ricci.<sup>19</sup> The latter two were multiple-volume series, each dedicated to a specific Italian city or region. Renard named Ricci in particular as a primary agent of medieval promotion. Ricci’s edition of the Divine Comedy, illustrated with contemporary photographs of landscapes populated with medieval monuments, provides a definitive example of the diffusion of Italy’s medieval patrimony.<sup>20</sup>

To the foregoing theses of Anderson and others, Renard contributed the notion that these publications were intended specifically to drum up enthusiasm in order to promote the preservation of historic monuments. Anderson had noted that in addition to establishing guardianship over the monuments, the state also tamed them by secularizing, controlling, historicizing, and removing them from the realm of native spaces. They instrumentalized the colony’s monuments as part of the ruling apparatus of the colonial regime. Anderson suggested something of this process by describing the secularization of museumized monuments: their manicured lawns, informative placards with dates, and the replacement of ceremonies and pilgrims with tourists. Anderson’s lack of attention to the specificity of the restored monument kept him from exploring the diverse ways that buildings could be

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>17</sup> Renard, “Architecture et figures identitaires,” 128, 162.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 162-63.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 179-187.

manipulated to function *in situ*. His generalized cleaning up and “museumization” is only one way to implement a monument toward the aggrandizement of a regime. The restored monument also had a powerful local function as a site of spatial control—eventually conquered by the bureaucracy.

## 5.1 The Ministry of Public Instruction in the 1860s: Agenda & Early Institutions

### CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE 1860S

In the decade between the annexation of Lombardy in 1859 and victory over Pius IX in Rome in 1870, the Ministry of Public Instruction—responsible for cultural affairs until 1974—developed into a sophisticated administrative body. Originally formed in the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1847, the ministry incorporated the educational and cultural institutions of new regions as they were annexed.<sup>21</sup> Decrees solicited data from the regions’ existing institutions and disseminated the kingdom’s regulations. The ministry’s 1860-61 annual bulletin (*Annuario*) included the former states of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza and the Duchy of Modena and Reggio, the Papal Legations (provinces of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna), and the former Austrian region of Lombardy. Although the Southern Provinces, Umbria, and le Marche had been annexed by that time, the ministry had not finished cataloguing their institutions.<sup>22</sup> The 1860-61 bulletin thus

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<sup>21</sup> *Annuario dell'istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1860-61*, (Turin: coi tipi di Giacinto Marietti, 1861), 13.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 609. "The printing of the current *Annuario* was already in a very advanced state when the Law of December 17, 1860 annexed the provinces of le Marche and Umbria to the Italian Reign, and when the R. D. of January 31, 1861 placed the following Turin institutions under the direction of the Ministry of Public Instruction: the Royal Academy of Sciences & its Royal Astronomical Observatory, the Royal Deputazione sopra gli studi di storia patria, the Royal Medical-Surgical Academy, and in a separate dispensation, the Royal Gallery of Paintings. Having not been able to include the aforementioned institutions in the present *Annuario* with the regularity that would be desired, the present Appendix gives a summary of the Scholarly Institutions of le Marche and Umbria, and the personnel at the Turin institutions."

A separate addendum on page 634 addressed the Southern Provinces: "We had hoped to be able to provide some notes about the scholarly institutions of the recently-annexed Southern Provinces in this *Annuario*; however, certain circumstances, independent of the ministry's will, impeded the realization of that plan; however, any future information we receive will constitute an appendix to be printed separately." Since Umbria & le Marche had also only recently been annexed, inclusion of the Southern Provinces may have been hindered by their physical separation from the Kingdom by the Papal States.



captured a transitional moment just before the March 17, 1861 declaration of Victor Emmanuel II King of Italy.<sup>23</sup>

Even as the ministry honed its central administration in increasingly specific denominations (Appendix I-a), the matter of simply compiling an adequate inventory of institutions and their personnel proved arduous. The ministry categorized the institutions under its auspices into three divisions in 1861: universities, non-university institutions of higher learning, and the system of primary and secondary education (Appendix I-b). The second, broad category of non-university institutions was the most haphazard of the three—incorporating scholarly and fine arts academies, libraries, learned societies, art galleries, civic museums, pinacoteche, museums of antiquity (including their function as institutions of conservation and excavation administration), technical and veterinary schools, and specialized commissions, councils, and committees. Anything not easily categorized as either a university or a primary or secondary school was thrown into a category best described as “other.” Over the next several decades, the administration spent as much time sorting as it did creating and legislating the capacities of new institutions.

The ministry also had to negotiate with the regional institutions for central control. The 1862-63 *Annuario* listed Secretariats of Public Instruction in Naples, Palermo, and Florence, in addition to the central ministry in Turin. Palermo and Naples also maintained their own Superior Councils of Public Instruction. The list of institutions under the ministry in that year offered a further sign of regional resilience: while still broken down into the same three subject categories, they were now listed first by region. The decentralization was temporary—perhaps it even contributed to the more efficient collection and dissemination of information in the new regions.

In the central administration in 1866, the ministry broke off a second division occupied primarily with fine arts from the former first division (Appendix I-c, I-d). This second division also incorporated the administration of libraries, archives, academies, and

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<sup>23</sup> There were also discrepancies between the older regions: by 1861, Piedmont, Sardinia, Lombardy, and Liguria were thoroughly organized according to the ministry's system. Copious legislation addressed the integration of Emilia's institutions during the 1860-1 academic year. Although Tuscany had been annexed at the same time as Emilia, it did not immediately adopt the kingdom's system of districts, inspectorates, or provincial academic councils. In 1861, the central administration added a special division for Tuscan Affairs, to facilitate smoothing over the ongoing differences.

learned societies.<sup>24</sup> The continued attention and specialization dedicated to institutions of culture at the most central level of the ministry will continue over the following hundred years.

## PROMOTION OF A SANCTIONED CULTURAL PAST: THE DEPUTAZIONI PER LA STORIA PATRIA

On April 20, 1833, King Charles Albert founded the *Regia Deputazione subalpina per la storia patria* in Turin.<sup>25</sup> Its purpose was “to collect and publish historiographical sources in the service of an official hagiography of the Savoy dynasty.”<sup>26</sup> In 1858, they added a branch for the history of Liguria in Genoa.<sup>27</sup> Jurisdiction was extended to Lombardy on February 21, 1860, when they dropped the subalpine designation to become the *Regia Deputazione sopra gli studi di storia patria*.<sup>28</sup> The Ministry of Public Instruction assumed authority over the combined deputazione for Turin, Liguria, and Lombardy on January 31, 1861, reinforcing state authority over local history.<sup>29</sup> The ministry immediately created three additional deputazioni for the provinces of Bologna, Modena, and Parma in the newly annexed region of Emilia.<sup>30</sup> The *Annuario* outlined their explicitly ethnographic mission:

to acquire detailed familiarity of sites containing collections of ancient documents; to deposit those collections in convenient locations; to classify them in an order conducive to research and study; to select from among the collected documents those that might better illustrate the Storia Patria and that have not yet been published in previous Italian collections, and to then curate their well-ordered publication at a press, such that the choice and publication of these documents [provide] not only insight into the civic and political life of Italy, but also the customs, [and] private and domestic life of its inhabitants: for example, the rites of birth, marriage, funerals, fashion, confession of sins, the construction of public buildings, houses, industry, and the arts. And finally, to collect the traditions, legends, and superstitions still alive in the less-cultured classes of the provinces of Emilia, the principal dialects, the normal vocabularies of the cities, of the

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<sup>24</sup> The life of fine arts affairs under the Ministry of Public Instruction ended in 1974, when a new Ministry for Cultural and Environmental Heritage was created. After all of the modifications the fine arts divisions would undergo in the ensuing one hundred years, the ministry created in 1974 encompassed the same functions as the second division initially formed in the 1866 ministry organization. For comparison, the new ministry inherited jurisdiction from the Ministry of Public Instruction over antiquities and fine arts, academies, and libraries (at the 1881 reorganization, the latter two were moved from a fine arts-related division into the Division for Superior Instruction). Also joining the new ministry in 1974 were the State Archives, which had been moved from Division Two to the Ministry of the Interior in 1874.

<sup>25</sup> Renard, “Architecture et figures identitaires,” 130; 1860-61 *Annuario*, 619.

<sup>26</sup> “Architecture et figures identitaires,” 130.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.; 1860-61 *Annuario*, 619.

<sup>29</sup> 1860-61 *Annuario*, 609.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 258-60.

vulgar, and of the peasant, the ancient and modern vernacular names of the streams, creeks, brooks, mountains, estates, etc.<sup>31</sup>

Their mission was clear: the deputazioni were engaged to seek out the evidence of traditional culture wherever it might be found. The many published versions of medieval manuscripts available today in the libraries of Italy are the result of an overtly national campaign of ethnography. Complementing their broadly cultural and historical ethnographic mission, the ministry also created a Commission for Vernacular Texts in the Emilian Provinces, tasked with locating and promoting the publication of “codices and rare editions of *testi di lingua* from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.”<sup>32</sup> The ministry reaffirmed the mission of the three Emilian deputazioni and Commission for Vernacular Texts verbatim in the 1862-63 *Annuario*.<sup>33</sup> As Renard noted, the “research and publication of local and national history [was the] concrete response to the necessity for cultural unification following the political and military unification of the Risorgimento.”<sup>34</sup>

The national government cultivated regional particularity with the rationale that love of one’s municipality and its antiquities would lead to the love of the nation, and a shared consciousness of national heritage. The deputazioni published regional histories, often focused on the biographies of legendary local figures. The independence of the medieval commune was frequently invoked as a precursor to the independence won in the Risorgimento.<sup>35</sup> The mission statement of the Commission for Vernacular Texts of Emilia overtly encouraged research into the region’s medieval history. These institutions reinforced local and regional identities through the promotion of their medieval pasts, creating civic subjects enthused about the historical culture, art, tradition, and language of the provinces. For this reason, the thirty or forty years when the central ministry had weaker regional institutional control was to the advantage of the nationalist project as they conceived it, allowing the regions ample time to research their particular local histories, and produce regionally patriotic subjects. The Emilian minister of public instruction Antonio Montanari

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>33</sup> *Annuario della istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1862-63*, (Turin: Tipografia scolastica di Seb. Franco e figli, 1863), 151.

<sup>34</sup> “Architecture et figures identitaires,” 132.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 134.

was explicit: “history [is] not only an extremely important scientific discipline, but a requirement of patriotism.”<sup>36</sup>

The brilliance of the regional strategy is that even when a region resisted the national structures, that resistance was merely emblematic of the strength of the region’s character, and therefore still useful to the project as a whole. Just as it had resisted adopting the kingdom’s school system, Tuscany refused Turin’s cultural hegemony, content with its own historiographical tradition established earlier in the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> In the early ministry annuari, Tuscany listed several historical societies among its academic institutions, including the *Ateneo italiano*, founded in 1798. Its mission was “to collect and divulge awareness of the most important and precious Italian works in sciences, letters, and arts.”<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, Tuscany’s now famous regional pride played right into the *Storia Patria* project.

Among their many historicist projects, the Emilian governor Luigi Carlo Farini and minister Antonio Montanari focused their cultural activities on the inventory, conservation, restoration, and illustration of architectural monuments, in addition to the publication of municipal histories. Renard argued that the deputazioni were the primary organizations concerned with the conservation and restoration of monuments in the first decade after unification.<sup>39</sup> In 1869, the Bologna deputazione restored the complex of Santo Stefano, the “Sette Chiese,” promoting its association with the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps more than Krautheimer’s belief that the complex reveals how medieval people valued the Holy Sepulchre, the restored complex more readily illustrates how nineteenth-century people valued it.<sup>41</sup>

By the end of the 1860s, there were eleven deputazioni in Italy (Appendix I-e). The academic functions of the deputazioni soon sidelined their official administrative capacities

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>38</sup> 1860-61 *Annuario*, 194.

<sup>39</sup> “Architecture et figures identitaires,” 136. Riccardo Dalla Negra, “Verso l’assetto definitivo delle strutture di tutela: dai delegati regionali alla nascita delle soprintendenze (1880-1907),” in *Alfonso Rubbiani e la cultura del restauro nel suo tempo (1880-1915)*, ed. Livia Bertelli and Otello Mazzei (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1986), 204-5. Renard dated the institution of the Ufficio in Bologna to 1876, most likely swapping it for one of the many other administrative offices created during the period.

However, Renard gives the proper date (1891) in note 371 on page 203.

<sup>40</sup> Renard, “Architecture et figures identitaires,” 136.

<sup>41</sup> Richard Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,’” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 17-18.

over restorations as the ministry tightened its provincial arts administration. However, always illustrious and full of nobles, these learned societies remained generators of ideas and cultural cachet.

## EARLY LOCAL INSTITUTIONS OF STATE CONTROL OVER MONUMENTS: THE CONSERVATION COMMISSIONS

While the institutions of historic promotion were relatively new phenomena, the protection of artistic heritage preceded the young nation-state. Several former states of the Italian peninsula had made use of legislation to safeguard their art and antiquities from damage or alienation.<sup>42</sup> Although the Kingdom of Italy did not invent the concept of artistic patrimony, they had to rearrange the institutions of the former states to adapt them to their centralized project.

At the start of the 1860s, the ministry had negligible legislative authority over the kingdom's fine arts. The deputazioni worked to promote local history, but there was no official recourse to an advisory board to approve the projects they promoted. Most construction projects were carried out by the Civil Engineering Corps under the Ministry of Public Works, by the ecclesiastical organizations in charge of facility matters, known as either the Fabbrica, Fabbriceria, or Opera Parrocchiale, or by other private individuals.<sup>43</sup>

A few cities formed conservation commissions in the 1860s, their provisional regional governments often either maintaining or reviving institutions already in existence under the previous regimes. Elsewhere, the ministry issued decrees to establish provincial conservation commissions. The ministry's yearbook from 1860-61 cited only one conservation commission, the *Commissione artistica per la conservazione dei lavori pregevoli di belle arti* in Emilia.<sup>44</sup> A later nineteenth-century scholar, Bruto Amante, chronicled the creation of several early conservation commissions by regional "provisory governments" in his meticulous compilation of the ministry's laws.<sup>45</sup> In addition to the creation of the Emilian

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<sup>42</sup> Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti*.

<sup>43</sup> Dalla Negra, "Verso l'assetto definitivo delle strutture di tutela: dai delegati regionali alla nascita delle soprintendenze (1880-1907)," 199.

<sup>44</sup> 1860-61 *Annuario*, 280.

<sup>45</sup> Bruto Amante, *Nuove illustrazioni e commenti alle leggi e discipline sulla P. Istruzione: Raccolta completa de' testi di leggi, decreti, regolamenti e circolari dal 1859 al 1887*, Seconda Edizione ed. (Rome: Via del Corso, n. 36 e 37 Dott. Bruto Amante, editore., 1887), 633-34.

commission on January 11, 1860, Amante also noted that the provisory government of Tuscany instituted a *Commissione per la conservazione degli oggetti d'arte e de' monumenti storici della Toscana* on March 12, 1860, Umbria created a *Commissione artistica principale* on September 29, 1860, le Marche founded the *Commissione de' monumenti storici e letterari*, and Naples expanded the capacities of the Council of the Superintendence of Excavations at the National Museum on December 7, 1860.<sup>46</sup> The ministry had been unable to include exhaustive lists of the institutions in le Marche, Umbria, and the Southern Provinces in the 1860-61 yearbook, since they had only recently been annexed, which would explain the absence of the commissions from those regions. The omission of Tuscany's commission, on the other hand, may reflect resistance to centralization, since their other institutions were catalogued. Nevertheless, on November 12, 1862, the ministry decreed a *Consulta per l'ordinamento dei Musei, e la conservazione dei monumenti antichi* in Florence, possibly an attempt to speed along the assimilation of Tuscany's institutions. Two weeks later, on November 27, the ministry also finally managed to institute a *Deputazione sopra gli studi di Storia patria nelle Provincie Toscane e nell'Umbria*.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, some cities had commissions relating to building projects that were not necessarily counted among the ministry's institutions. For example, several professors at the Milan Academy of Fine Arts listed membership on the city's *Commissione d'ornato*, the aesthetic norms of which the ministry did not control.

The most substantial preexisting regional and provincial system revived under the new government was in Sicily. An explanatory note offered a history and institutional summary of the system:

For a long time in the provinces of Sicily, there were deputies for the conservation of the monuments of the Greek, Roman, Arab, Norman, and Swabian epochs, of which this island is rich. In 1827, however, the Government decreed their suppression, creating instead a central Commission residing in Palermo, entrusting it with the conservation of the ancient monuments, adding to it responsibility over the modern fine arts, and the management of scholarships for artists to be sent abroad for their education in the fine arts. They then instituted several subaltern Commissions dependent on the central one, and custodians were employed at the sites of the ancient monuments to see they were not damaged.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *Annuario della istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1862-63*, 155, 282.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 403.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

In addition to the central commission, there were thirteen local commissions in Girgenti, Taormina, Tindari resident in Patti, Catania, Centorbi, Siracusa, Acri resident in Palazzolo, Selinunte resident in Castelvetro, Segesta resident in Calatafimi, Solanto resident in Santa Flavia, Cefalù, Termini, and Messina. No other region would approach Sicily's extent of coverage until the major departmental reorganization of the mid-1870s, which created the office of Inspector of Monuments and Excavations.

By the end of the 1860s, there were conservation commissions in twenty-three provincial capitals across Italy plus the now fifteen satellite offices of Palermo's central commission (Appendix I-f). A single office in Segesta had closed, with three more added as far afield as Terranova on the island of Lampedusa (between Tunisia and Malta). Le Marche had subsections in Pesaro, Macerata, and Ascoli Piceno, in addition to a central office in Ancona. Some cities maintained supervisory capacities at their archaeological museums. In Milan, the archaeological museum was cross-listed in two categories: conservation commissions as well as pinacoteche and museums of antiquity.<sup>49</sup> The institutions of preservation were equally entwined with museums in Naples, where well into the 1890s the distinctions between museums and preservation offices remained blurry. The twenty-three conservation commissions constituted a discrete category within the ministry's new fine arts division, occupying a prominent place into its next phase, when the kingdom would finally capture Rome from Pius IX, making it the new capital of Italy in July 1871.<sup>50</sup>

## 5.2 Ecclesiastical Conservatism & Spatial Control: Restorations under Antonio Emmanuelli (1842-1868)

While the new national institutions were in their infancy, however, the ecclesiastical administration maintained exclusive authority over San Francesco's restorations, possibly due to Piacenza's position of secondary importance. The entity known in Piacenza as the

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<sup>49</sup> The Milan conservation commission was slow to take off—in 1881 it was dissolved due to insufficient membership.

<sup>50</sup> The capital had been in Florence since 1865. In October 1866, the Kingdom had finally gained the region of Venetia from Austria. After numerous failed attempts to capture Rome, from Garibaldi's rogue mission in 1862 to the 1867 rebuffs, Cadorna's march on Rome on September 20, 1870 was finally successful.

Opera Parrocchiale oversaw operations concerning the church fabric, including financing.<sup>51</sup> With quasi-legendary origins in decrees of the popes Simplicius and Gelasius, the practice of reserving one-fourth of Church revenue for building maintenance and operations was traditionally known as either the “fabbrica,” “fabbriceria,” or “opera.” Legislation passed in the Napoleonic period, the Risorgimento, and the Lateran Pacts successively altered the juridical status of the fabbriche, previously based in local and canon law.<sup>52</sup> Years later, long after state institutions had the authority to regulate matters of preservation, the Opera at San Francesco maintained responsibility for the church: promoting new restorations, hiring the architects, and supplying the majority of the financing. The government committed some funds in later years, but the bulk of its national-monuments budget was earmarked for higher-profile projects. The early, Church-dominated restorations focused on stylistic unity, structural repairs, and the elimination of unsurveilled spaces.

## EMMANUELI’S PRAXIS/MEDIA: THE MONOGRAPH

On the eve of his retirement in 1868, Don Antonio Emmanuelli dedicated his completed monograph *Il tempio dei SS. Protaso e Francesco in Piacenza* to his parishioners.<sup>53</sup> After spending his career restoring the church and convent, impending blindness forced his resignation as *parrocco* (parish priest) and primary caretaker of the church.<sup>54</sup> Surrounded by a country in transition, Emmanuelli was rooted in the established hierarchy and tradition of the Catholic Church. The fruits of his labor participated in the Church’s tactical offensive

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<sup>51</sup> Gaetano Moroni, “Fabbrica, e Fabbriciere, (fabrica, aedificium).” in *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni* (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1843). The name varied based on geography as well. “Fabbrica” and “Fabbriceria” the more utilized name in the north, “Opera” in Tuscany, although “Opera” was the most prevalent term used in Piacenza in the documentation regarding San Francesco. Terms used in other contexts included “Cappella” in Naples and “Marramma” in Sicily. For the sake of consistency, the terms “Opera Parrocchiale” or “Opera” refer to the specific administration in Piacenza. The terms “Fabbrica” and “Fabbriceria” are both used depending on the usage of the source in discussion. The terms have slightly different meanings, the former preferred in ecclesiastical environments, the latter becoming more common after Napoleonic laws referring to them as such beginning in the early nineteenth century. The composition of Fabbriche in Italy depended on the relative importance of the church it oversaw. For example, important churches had seven members, two of whom were nominated by the bishop and five by the minister. Other churches had five members, including the parrocco (parish priest) and four members nominated by the prefect.

<sup>52</sup> Moresco, “Fabbriceria.” Moresco cited local legislation from various regions, including a fifteenth-century law regulating the *maramme* in Sicily, a law of May 26, 1807 in Lombardy and the Veneto, and a Napoleonic law of December 30, 1809. The relevant canon law was can. 1182. The institution of laws after the Lateran Pacts in 1929 would have further consequences on the fabbricerie, fully addressed below.

<sup>53</sup> Emmanuelli, *Il Tempio dei SS. Protaso e Francesco in Piacenza*.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., vi.



against Italian usurpation of ecclesiastical architecture. He prioritized the building's materiality in his analysis and history of its form and style, an inventory of its art, inscriptions, altars, chapels, and furnishings, and a detailed account of the restorations he and his predecessor completed between 1842 and 1868. His meticulous, bay-by-bay inventory was conceived as a complete snapshot of the church in that moment. He left to posterity a catalog of his spatial experience of a building he knew intimately. His monograph and restorations attest to an individual and an institution resistant to the changes going on around them.

Emmanueli's chapter on the church's form, style, and history reported evidence for the building's dates of construction, noting the inscriptions from 1294 and 1386, and the bull of 1289 authorizing the sale of the friars' old convent for funds to build the new one.<sup>55</sup> He provided careful measurements of the church's dimensions, observing its "imperfect harmony of proportions." He praised the geometry of the arches and theorized the architect's use of the Pythagorean theorem and optical perspective. His stylistic assessment included a long digression defining "Gothic," acknowledging that the term had nothing to do with the Goths, whom he knew to have mostly adopted an "unadorned Roman architecture." Thereafter, he observed, "architecture passed from unadorned to dirty, from dirty to deformed, and from deformed to monstrous with no interruption."<sup>56</sup> Emmanueli labeled this "first age of architecture" after the fall of the Roman Empire as "Romano-Byzantine, Romano-Barbarian, Lombard, or Gothic." The subsequent creation of trade routes to the east at the end of the eleventh century caused architecture to "civilize" itself, for which he credited the Saracens:

Since they towered over all of the populations of Europe, in letters and sciences, as well as in the arts of design, even though they arrived with hostile and thieving intentions, they did not fail to leave us various relics of their architecture, albeit bizarre and capricious, still possessing many elements of advanced elegance.<sup>57</sup>

The architecture of the second period heralded by this Arab Renaissance was "mysteriously" called either German or Gothic. The "third epoch of the Gothic style" began in the 1230s, when "the arches that had been round became pointed." Emmanueli's history concluded

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 14.

with the third epoch, subdivided into two periods: the first defined by the thirteenth century and the second by the fourteenth and early fifteenth century “in other parts of Europe if not in Italy.” He expressed relief that the date of San Francesco was known, allowing him to categorize the church within the first period of the third epoch of Gothic architecture.

Emmanueli hypothesized that the Franciscan churches in Piacenza and Bologna were so similar that they were probably built by the same Franciscan architect. He reasoned that the known quantity of friar architects at San Francesco in Assisi and the churches of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Dominican) and the Frari (Franciscan) in Venice established a precedent of mendicant architects. He induced that if there were architects among their ranks, they would have had no reason to contract to outsiders. Furthermore, the anonymity of the architect proved that he was Franciscan, following the example of humility set by Saint Francis, himself.<sup>58</sup> Emmanueli’s tidy hypothesis of a Franciscan architect was strategically aimed to counter the popular fuss over regional patriotism. It was inconsequential where the architect was *from*, what mattered was that he was a Franciscan and a Catholic. The wide reach of the Franciscan Order, even in the thirteenth century, only further detached the building from its local reality. San Francesco’s clearly defined medieval history attested to a church built within a distinctly Franciscan tradition, belonging to a non-Italy-specific architectural history.

Emmanueli’s account of the late eighteenth- early nineteenth-century history of the church constitutes the other important bookend to his narrative. For him, the church’s closure in 1798 had marked the beginning of its “recent history.” He found the church’s rededication to “San Napoleone” egregious enough that he referred only to “a saint unknown prior to May 18, 1804” (the date of Napoleon’s coronation as emperor of France), rather than by the actual name. Emmanueli also marks the significance of the church’s reopening in 1806. At that time, its parrocco, Salvetti, began work to repair major damage, adding a baptistery, the chapel of the Addolorata (now demolished), and the main sacristy, and converting the east wing of the convent into a rectory. These clear, distinct dates marked off a “dark time” in the church’s history, when it had wrongly been subject to a secular order. The dark time

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 19.

was removed from the present—he acknowledged no such threat from any contemporary secular authorities, despite the fact that there was considerable tension between the clergy and the new Italian state at the time. Emmanuelli asserted the dominion of the Church in the building’s origins and in its rightful recuperation after the Napoleonic suppression. From the administrative perspective of the Church, there were distinct medieval dates during which the church had been built. There was a pristine period of control by the Franciscans, which was interrupted by politics and secularism. Finally, there was the church in its present state, which, contrary to how Emmanuelli depicted it, was a period of political and social upheaval. Emmanuelli and his Church protested the current political climate by pretending it did not exist.

## ECCLESIASTICAL FINANCES: THE OPERA & THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Emmanuelli was anxious to disclose the Opera’s financial resources, dismissing rumors that they had neglected contributions to pious foundations or workers’ wages, alienated capital, or sold off investments. He admitted only that the expense had indeed been enormous—at least Lit (1868) 50,000 (\$9,650 in 1868, \$1,130,000 in 2011).<sup>59</sup> The Opera never sustained a significant surplus during the restorations—in 1847 even resorting to a request for “a huge debt amnesty” from the Fabbrica of Saint Peter’s. Following the amnesty, they refrained from restoration work for a few years. He further explained that since 1847, they had incurred no additional debt and had not alienated capital or funds, unless to invest them elsewhere. They had neither solicited nor imposed contributions from parishioners, with the minor exception of anonymously donated windows the previous year. The project’s financing had, in fact, all come

from one simple source, sage conscientious administration—intelligent fund transfers, proper investments in *locazioni* [leases or rentals]; prudently chosen managers;

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<sup>59</sup> Between 1861 and 1915, one Italian lire was worth \$0.193, according to gold standard conversions on [www.cyberusr.com/hcunn/gold-std.html](http://www.cyberusr.com/hcunn/gold-std.html). The site [www.measuringworth.com](http://www.measuringworth.com) has several valuable resources for computing relative value: historical exchange rates, with data for the Italian lire from 1913-1998 ([www.measuringworth.com/exchangeglobal](http://www.measuringworth.com/exchangeglobal)) and a calculator for relative worth of US currency from 1776 to the present ([www.measuringworth.com/uscompare](http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare)). The site offers multiple types of conversions, depending on the subject and indicators being compared. Since the subjects compared here were projects (rather than commodities or income), I used the labor value to measure the project against the wages of unskilled laborers (rather than those measures against Consumer Price Index or the Value of the Household Bundle, for example). In instances calculating the relative value of a purchase, I used the real price, which measures a commodity against a bundle of goods and services.

indefatigable diligence in the collection of profits, in annual income as well as in precarious capital, exercising the same care and diligence in the administration of the church's property that good family fathers adopt in their private interests<sup>60</sup>

Emmanueli's financial report has the content and tone of a report to investors—tithing parishioners likely exerting a comparable quality of pressure. He insisted his intelligent administration would lead to the completion of the Opera's still-desired restorations of a new pavement, main altar, decoration for the whole church, and a new organ in the coming years. His assurance proved prescient.

### EMMANUELI'S PRAXIS/MEDIA: RESTORATIONS/CHURCH

Emmanueli's restorations similarly demonstrate his conservative politics. He concentrated on bringing about stylistic unity, order, decorum, surveillance, and hygiene, while embellishing the church for living use by its parishioners. Different from those later restorations that would seek to freeze the building in time, or make it a museum of its historical use, Emmanueli's restorations were haptic, viewing his improvements from his own historical moment unselfconsciously. While he was interested in San Francesco's historical style, he strove to beautify and maintain the church in the present, rather than tease one particular historical moment out from others. His focus on use-value distinguished his work from the contemporary popular historicizing of the Middle Ages.

#### *Interior Chapel Restorations (1842-1858)*

Emmanueli's account of the restorations began in 1842, when the parish of San Protaso was subsumed into San Francesco, bringing the parrocco Salvetti back to his former parish. He brought San Protaso's organ along with him, installing it in the south transept (E5-6).<sup>61</sup> Over the next few years, he enlarged an altar dedicated to Sant'Eligio in the chapel of the Beata Vergine di Caravaaggio (A4-5). He also installed the large inner door behind the central portal of the façade to reinforce the entrance against the elements and reduce commerce-related noise in the piazza outside. In 1844, he replaced the rose window with a new wooden sash and stained-glass glazing.

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<sup>60</sup> Emmanueli, *Il Tempio dei SS. Protaso e Francesco in Piacenza*, 74-5.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-55.

In 1846, Emmanuelli arrived and joined Salvetti in the management of the restorations, boasting that they were “embraced and sustained” by the Opera Parrochiale, which had ultimate approval over their repairs. Available funds for restorations coming from the Opera had increased, which led to more substantial projects.<sup>62</sup> Emmanuelli and Salvetti added a new balustrade to the raised presbytery and a staircase on the choir screen to keep crowds, particularly children, at a distance. In 1847, they enclosed three bays of the cloister behind the south aisle for use as an archive. Salvetti died the next year, and Emmanuelli assumed leadership over the restorations, but the Opera’s debts stalled work for a few years.<sup>63</sup>

When restoration work resumed in 1853, Emmanuelli directed his attention to the church interior, restoring several chapels in order to achieve “stylistic unity.” In the two chapels on the south wall at E3-4, alterations transformed the previously round arch over the left-hand chapel into a pointed arch. Emmanuelli commended the architect’s work, which made the arch “appear...contemporary with the rest of the church.”<sup>64</sup> He ordered additional repairs to the vaults and had the aisle outside the chapel painted. He revealed the restored area to the public to general acclaim “if not for a few purists who would have wanted it taken away with all the rest.” Seemingly not directed at Emmanuelli’s restorations specifically, the “purists” viewed the very existence of the chapels as intrusions.

Across the nave from these chapels, there were two similar chapel openings at A3-4 (now eliminated). Emmanuelli attested to the demolition of the chapel altars in 1854, but the chapel openings were still intact. Unlike the well-rendered pointed arches on the opposite side of the church, he was critical of the unevenness and incongruity of these chapel openings with those in the rest of the church. He reasoned that the shops outside had structurally compromised the wall, forcing the architect to reinforce the lateral jambs and central trumeau between the chapel openings. While the architect had been successful in the structural effort, Emmanuelli complained that he had failed to render the arches properly,

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 58.

with the result that “one cannot look at them without a rather nauseating sensation, born of the apparent deformity from all the others in the church.”<sup>65</sup>

He restored the chapels of the Beata Vergine di Caravaggio (A4-5) and the Beata Vergine Addolorata (E4-5)—both since demolished—adorning their altars with cornices and “Gothic outlines.” He eliminated three altars near the doors along the façade interior, replacing them with confessionals, so that “soldiers who arrived at Easter time would be confined to the entrances and thus not disturb the other parishioners by entering further into the church.”<sup>66</sup>

In 1858, Emmanuelli returned to the interior to restore the chapel of San Protaso in the chevet (AB9), repairing and repainting the vaults, ribs, and walls, adding marble steps to the altar and balustrade, and repairing the pavement. The next year, he repainted the chapel of San Francesco (DE9) and added new pavements and balustrades to all of the remaining apse chapels.

These restorations are characterized by Emmanuelli’s desire to make all of the elements conform to his aesthetic tastes, with the end of achieving stylistic harmony, unity, and the general decorum of the church. In general, they consisted in embellishing, repairing, or cleaning up the church’s existing features. They added, rather than subtracted. Demolition was only used as a solution to dilapidation or to restore order and decorum.

### *Restoration of the Remaining Arm of the Cloister (1855)*

Since Salvetti’s early works to convert the remaining (east) arm of the old cloister into a rectory for the parish, the former convent had otherwise remained in the state that resulted from the expropriation of the convent in 1798. The Napoleonic plan drawn at the time the church was reopened in 1806 shows the former convent at its fullest extent, before the majority of its property was alienated (Figure 35). The hash marks indicate where property had been confiscated (Figure 107). Since the areas to either side of the rectory were no longer the property of the church, practical necessity had led Emmanuelli’s predecessor, Salvetti, to add a *portone* (large street door) in 1812 for use as a south entrance. Prior to the

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 59.

loss of property, the friars could have used the garden gate as a southern entrance to the convent, since access doors led into the rectory from the gardens. Emmanuelli reported that Salvetti's portone was located "a few meters to the east [of the cloister]," opening onto the rectory corridor, which led through the sacristies into the church (Figure 108).

Salvetti had not allowed the public to use the south portone to enter the church through the sacristy. However, when he left for San Protaso in 1815, people began to use it, a practice Emmanuelli complained "severely saddled the sacristies in profanity." The public contentedly utilized Salvetti's door and the corridor through the sacristy, until Salvetti put a stop to it when he returned in 1842.

Now accustomed to the convenience of the south entrance, however, the public was irritated when it was taken away. So Salvetti compromised that the public could continue to use the portone, however, they had to stoop (*piegandosi a metà*) through a small passageway off the corridor that led into the old cloister, and from there enter the church from the south door, thus bypassing the sacristy (Figure 109). This "small, dark passageway" was in use for thirteen years.

In 1855, Emmanuelli had had enough of the public lurking in the recesses of the old convent, so he resolved to find a new solution:

In order to eliminate that tortuous passageway, the indecency of which was not only architectonic but which often transgressed the limits of morality, I agreed with the Opera to reroute it, to give it greater beauty and physical regularity, and to place it under greater moral surveillance by the public eye, which overlooks the cloister from the Orcesi house along its entire length.<sup>67</sup>

Without providing the salacious details of these transgressions, Emmanuelli's solution was somewhere between the panopticon and Jane Jacobs—to rectify indecency with neighborly surveillance. He was also motivated by doing a service for his parishioners, not only those who lived in the area south of the church, but also the elderly, who used the portone to avoid the large staircase leading to the west façade entrance (Figure 110).

Clearing the path through the cloister was expensive and labor-intensive. 1920s photographs indicate the extent of other tenants in the space of the former convent (Figure 46). A hand sketch of the *catasto* (land registry) from 1922 provides another rendering of

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<sup>67</sup> A courtyard and houses to the west of the gallery under discussion appear to have been occupied by ordinary residents.

where the plots no longer belonged to the church (Figure 111). The catasto also suggests where buildings appear to encroach further into the open spaces of the former convent than the cloister arcades had. The open spaces of the old cloisters are still perceptible, but even if the 1806 plan had exaggerated the convent's geometric regularity, the open spaces in the 1922 catasto appear reduced with respect to the built structures.

To proceed with his project, Emmanuelli had to purchase eight properties that were blocking the cloister arcade on the Via Sopramuro side, explaining that the French government had sold them off during the first suppression of the monasteries. The exact location of these buildings can only be approximated, but Emmanuelli's description suggests that they were at least partially along the Via Sopramuro, to the west of Salvetti's portone. The necessity to eliminate them in order to make the cloister accessible suggests that they probably extended north along the arm of the cloister walk, away from the street.

Other obstacles included a staircase the Opera had built inside the cloister arcade in 1822 that gave access to the shops above. Emmanuelli demolished the staircase and repaired the damaged vaults above. Lastly, he demolished a wall that divided the cloister path. The wall had provided structural support for the second story above it, requiring the addition of several sustaining arches after its demolition. In the Napoleonic plan, the two contiguous cloisters along the west side of the rectory building suggest that the demolished wall had not merely been an addition to support the upper floors, but had demarcated two separate cloisters. The cracked and unstable columns of the arcade (recognizable as those there today from his description of them as "rusticated, slender, and brick") were no help—they had to rebuild three or four while supporting the building above with an armature (Figures 112-13). When the structural work was finally complete, he added a brand new pavement "from end to end" (Figure 114).

Today, the area south of the church bears little resemblance to how it appeared in the earliest photographs from the first few decades of the twentieth century. However, the alignment of the cloister with the church in 1932 was the same as it is today (Figure 115). Emmanuelli had been explicitly frustrated by the off-axis locations of the church door just to the left and the portone at the other end just to the right (Figure 116). Perhaps he would



have been pleased by the later restoration that installed the entrance gate in its current location, in direct alignment with the cloister (Figure 117). The 1932 plan indicates that this gate at the foot of the cloister had been installed by then (Figure 45). Since ownership over the southernmost part of the rectory appears to have been alienated by the time of the 1922 catasto, the installation of the current gate may have provided the solution to that issue.

### *The Saga of the Botteghe degli Orefici (1820-1857)*

Emmanueli's tone changed when he began to recount his next obstacle, the *botteghe degli orefici* (jewelry shops) attached to the north wall of the church along the Via Dritta (modern Via XX Settembre) (Figures 90, 118-21). The existence of the botteghe was a thorn in the side of every head of restorations for the entire nineteenth century and much of the twentieth. As early as 1820, the architect Lotario Tomba had characterized the botteghe as a problem of "decorum."<sup>68</sup> In 1828, the Opera claimed that the owners of the botteghe had widened their shops by digging into the buttresses and foundations of the church.<sup>69</sup> Church authorities had been unable to get permission to assess the damage until 1842, when Salvetti returned from San Protaso. Emmanueli credited Salvetti, whose "venerable gray hair obtained an order from the local authority for an inquest to reveal the lamentable damage."<sup>70</sup> After the inspection, the shop owners continued to thwart the Opera from taking further action. In 1854, the Opera brought the matter to the Superior Government, but three years later, he snidely quipped, their efforts still proved fruitless. Emmanueli attributed their failure to the "formality of the Government Office obstructing law and reason." The Superior Government had recommended that the Opera try their case before the courts, which Emmanueli thought would "sooner result in the collapse of the church."

Following the logic that "in an absolute government, there is always a supreme tribunal of the throne," Emmanueli appealed to the Regent of the Duchy of Parma, Louise Marie Thérèse d'Artois, who finally set his desired project in motion.<sup>71</sup> Within weeks, they inspected the shops, hired an architect who reinforced the foundations, and required the

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<sup>68</sup> Valeria Poli, *Romanico e gotico nell'architettura medioevale a Piacenza, 997-1447* (Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co, 2005), 144.

<sup>69</sup> Guidotti, "La chiesa di S. Francesco."

<sup>70</sup> Emmanueli, *Il Tempio dei SS. Protaso e Francesco in Piacenza*, 63.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 65.

shop owners to pay for the repairs.<sup>72</sup> Emmanuelli praised the regent's swift intervention, in an obsequious gush of conservative nostalgia. His concern over the botteghe repeated his consistent preoccupations with decorum, propriety, and civic presentation. The recurring trope of the shop owners as scapegoats for the building's structural problems served to mask Emmanuelli's palpable distaste for their profane proximity.

*Replacement of the Roof (1859-1863), New Granite Staircase (1864) & Repainting the Interior (1867)*

The restorations carried out in the last decade of Emmanuelli's leadership attended to embellishment, maintenance, and civic presentation, along with his typical attention to hygiene, stylistic harmony, and propriety. In 1859 they began the long project of replacing the roof, starting over the ambulatory and apse chapels, where two main issues had plagued the previous roof: its considerable length (twelve meters) and insufficient slope, both of which resulted in water damage. The poor construction of the roof had caused water to collect, freeze, and leak into the area above the vaults, leaving the "forest of trusses" (the assemblage of wooden supports between the vaults and the roof) in an imaginably unhygienic state.

In the spring of 1862, they cleared the vaults of the debris and roof-tile shards "that all the repairs of 600 years had accumulated." He reported that they removed approximately 1,000 cubic meters, at a cost of 2,000 lire (\$400 in 1862, \$64,300 in 2011). The architect Vincenzo Minutini from Perugia completed the new nave roof that year. Emmanuelli touted the new roof, which had "not only the necessary force, but also beauty and symmetry, such that had the vaults been diaphanous, the armature could compete with that of San Francesco in Rimini, which the architect intentionally left exposed to the eyes of the observers."<sup>73</sup> They subsequently rebuilt the roof and interior wooden structure of the campanile, installing window shutters to keep out the elements and prevent further water damage to the wood inside.

In the summer of 1863, a Piacentine architect named Giorgi replaced the aisle roofs, after Minutini moved to Modena. Giorgi rebuilt the upper parts of some of the aisle walls to

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<sup>72</sup> Guidotti, "La chiesa di S. Francesco," 103.

<sup>73</sup> Emmanuelli, *Il Tempio dei SS. Protaso e Francesco in Piacenza*, 68.

repair damage and to increase the slope of the roof for better runoff. He paid particular attention to increasing the slope over the ambulatory and east chapels, and broke up the twelve-meter length of the roof into two sections, adding a gutter in between. He also installed iron canals to direct the runoff and prevent water from freezing. The total spent on the roof repairs was 20,000 lire (\$4,000 in 1863, \$563,000 in 2011).

In 1864, the Opera spent 10,200 lire (\$2,040 in 1864, \$252,000 in 2011) on a new granite staircase and platform in front of the façade. As of 1867, the most recent restorations included new plaster and whitewash on all the interior walls and vaults. Emmanuelli's choice stemmed from his desire for stylistic consistency and propriety—visitation of churches “in the same style” in Piedmont and Lombardy confirmed his preconceived idea that “white was the proper color.” He accentuated the new white surface with stone-colored paint on the ribs and transverse articulation.

The impetus for the mid-nineteenth-century restorations apparently came from Salvetti, Emmanuelli, and the Opera alone. The monolithic vision of their project was relatively unhindered by local popular opinion or the regulations of the state. It would be the last such project carried out on San Francesco. In the next few years, the building would come to be at the center of the emergent popular forum regarding restorations to the city's built environment.

When Emmanuelli was writing in 1868, the church was not yet fully a museum. Unlike some of the restorers that followed him, Emmanuelli remained attached to the present materiality of the church, reflected in his aesthetic judgments of style. His critiques of the asymmetrical arches defined an ideal, but that ideal was not as overtly attached to historical time as it would be in the work of later restorers. When Emmanuelli went to neighboring churches to decide what color to paint the walls, he went to churches that were “of a similar style,” not necessarily chronologically located. However, the church was already becoming a museum. He repeatedly reported his preoccupation with the creation of a safe space for the church's archive. He restored the archive's armoires and closed off part of the cloister to create a large room to keep the church's records secure. Accumulation had begun.

### 5.3 State Implementation of Regional & Provincial Control in the 1870s-80s

In the 1870s, the central government took additional steps to solidify control over local restoration initiatives, implementing a system of provincial administration—satellite branches to monitor work in progress away from major centers. The regionalization of their administration was accompanied by corresponding strengthening of the central organization, achieved through copious legislation.

#### THE NEW DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR MUSEUMS & EXCAVATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, CONSERVATION COMMISSIONS & MONUMENT INSPECTORS

On March 28, 1875, the second division of the Ministry of Public Instruction became the Directorate General for Museums and Excavations of Antiquity, designed to oversee the excavations in the entire kingdom, dividing the terrain into regions for supervision and project planning.<sup>74</sup> A year and a half later on December 31, 1876, a new fine arts division, the Provveditorato of Artistic Instruction, was split off from the Directorate General, functioning as a separate entity until they were recombined in 1881 (Appendix J-a-d). The decree that established the Directorate outlined the protocol for the technical offices and *commissariati*, which would oversee the excavations, and further subdivisions subject to Inspectors of Monuments and Excavations of Antiquity, also established by the March 1875 decree.<sup>75</sup> The duties of these institutions of regional administration were again expanded by

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<sup>74</sup> Amante, *Nuove illustrazioni* 1887, 635-36. March 28, 1875 R. D. n. 2440 instituted a Directorate General of Museums and Excavations of Antiquity: Italy divided into North: Piedmont, Lombardy, Veneto, Emilia, Tuscany; Central: Rome & province, Umbria, le Marche, Abruzzo; South: Terra di Lavoro, Naples & province, Puglia, "i Principati," and Calabria; Director General and two Central Commissioners each responsible for one of the three. The islands of Sicily and Sardinia are subject to special commissions who will communicate directly with the Directorate General. The provisional superintendencies in Naples & Rome are closed. pp. 636-38: July 4, 1875 Ministerial Decree established the regulations and protocol for the Directorate General of Excavations: the Directorate proposes necessary excavations to the Giunta of Archaeology. The instructions communicated to the central commissioners and special island commissions. The commissioners in turn make budget proposals, Director Gen. establishes budget, distributes funds. Commissioners finally propose location and number of required "technical offices," which manage and run the excavations. Funds distributed to the technical offices.

<sup>75</sup> Unpaid position created in article 4 of the March 28, 1875 decree that created the Directorate General. To be implemented "in provinces where necessary." January 18, 1877, n. 3660 Approved the rule for the service of the excavations of antiquity. Establishes protocol for all employees of excavations. Regional direction of excavations are at Commissariati or Technical Uffici. April 18, 1878, n. 4350 Approved the rule for the service of state museums of antiquity. Both these laws are in effect into the 1890s.

legislation in 1877 and 1878 that formalized the personnel order for excavations and museums, respectively.<sup>76</sup> The commissariati and technical offices were often associated with museums, particularly in cases such as Naples, Sicily, Rome, and Florence where institutions already existed prior to unification.

In 1869, the list of regional institutions under the category “Pinacoteche & Museums of Antiquity” had consisted of ten civic museums, five pinacoteche, four archaeological museums, and five miscellaneous palaces or galleries—twenty-four total institutions.<sup>77</sup> The only slightly higher number of institutions (twenty-eight) listed in 1881 would be insignificant were they not almost completely different institutions (and types of institutions) than the earlier list, essentially replaced by the structures of the new Directorate General (Appendix J-e). The civic museums were gone from the division, probably managed locally, since they were still an important site for local patriotism.

The year after the Directorate General was created, establishing the system of technical offices, commissariati, and inspectorates, the conservation commissions were also brought under a single normative rule.<sup>78</sup> As of the 1868-69 yearbook, there had been twenty-two conservation commissions; after the 1876 decree instituting them in every province, there were sixty-seven (seventy by 1881).<sup>79</sup> The duties of the commissions were established alongside those of the monument and excavation inspectors, who would also serve on the

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<sup>76</sup> Amante, *Nuove illustrazioni 1887*, 640-649. *January 18, 1877 R. D. n. 3660* approved the regulations for the service for the excavation of antiquities. Also printed in: *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari dell'anno 1877 ed anteriori (Anno LVI)*, (Rome: Presso gli editori via Sant'Uffizio, 1., 1877), 359-68.; *Nuove illustrazioni 1887*, 649-53. *April 18, 1878 R. D. 4350* approved the regulations for the service of state museums of antiquity. Also printed in: *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari dell'anno 1878 ed anteriori (Anno LVII)*, vol. Parte seconda, *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari emanate dalle superiori autorità* (Rome: Presso gli editori Via Sant'Uffizio, 1., 1878), 831-35.

<sup>77</sup> *Annuario della istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1868-69*, (Turin: Tipografia del giornale il Conte Cavour, 1869), 409-411.

<sup>78</sup> *Nuove illustrazioni 1887*, 638-39. *March 5, 1876 R. D. n. 3028* established conservation commissions of monuments of art and antiquity in each province

<sup>79</sup> Individual decrees for each province are recorded in the various collections of state laws, dozens of which were recorded in 1876. Many of the 1876 commissions replaced commissions that had been established earlier, several of which had stemmed from an earlier general law in 1866. Piacenza's commission had been initially established in a decree of December 12, 1875, consisting of six members. That commission was suppressed, and a new one created in line with the decree of March 5, 1876 on September 17, 1876 R. D. 3455. Piacenza's was an eight-member commission. *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, dei decreti e delle istruzioni e circolari dell'anno 1876 ed anteriori (Anno LV)*, vol. Parte seconda, *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, regolamenti e circolari emanate dalle superiori autorità* (Florence: Presso gli editori Via Faenza, 94, 1876), 1358-59.

commission.<sup>80</sup> The commissions were presided by the provincial prefects, and consist of either four or eight commissioners, determined by individual decrees for each province. Half of the members were appointed by the ministry, the other half by the provincial council (on the larger, eight-member commissions, two of the four locally chosen commissioners were chosen by the communal council). Multiple inspectors were often appointed within larger provinces, each assigned to a specific district. Sometimes their districts consisted of a specific archaeological site. In cases of multiple inspectors for one province, the inspector for the provincial seat served on the commission, and the other inspectors would submit matters to be put before the commission to the main inspector. The offices of both the conservation commissions and the inspectors were unpaid.

The responsibilities of the commissions included the surveillance of monuments, restoration recommendations to property owners and the appropriate authorities, the prevention of illegal export or alienation of property, and the collocation of newly discovered objects of art or antiquity in nearby museums. They were to respond reactively to those conceiving and carrying out restorations, such as church fabbricerie, or the civil engineering corps under the Ministry of Public Works, supported by the records from San Francesco's restorations, where the commission was indeed consulted for project approval, even at an early date. However, some of the commissions' other assignments went unfulfilled. In particular, the ministry had given them the responsibility of compiling a new inventory of national monuments. As the ministry's investment in the nation's monumental patrimony increased, so did the pressure to have a reliable inventory of all its monuments. The ministry was constantly trying to effect the list's completion for at least the following decade.

## THE NEW CATEGORY OF NATIONAL MONUMENTS

The urgency to compile an inventory was linked to financial considerations: securing a larger budget for the conservation and restoration of national monuments required

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<sup>80</sup> *Nuove illustrazioni* 1887, 639-40. In addition to their mention in the decrees creating the Directorate General and the conservation commissions, the monument inspectors were confirmed in the *June 17, 1875 Ministerial Circular*, which enumerated the instructions to the inspectors of the excavations of antiquity and monuments.

providing adequate documentation to Parliament (Appendix J-f).<sup>81</sup> An 1881 circular to the prefects cited the initial 1875 request for biannual reports, which had not been turned in, as well as additional requested inventories made on February 1, 1877 and August 10, 1880.<sup>82</sup> They would therefore have to resort to using an old list compiled in 1875. The 1881 circular enumerated the fastidious steps of revising the catalog of monuments, justifying the time, cost, and difficulty by the importance of demonstrating to Parliament the “true needs of our monuments.” Once Parliament had all the information about the state of the monuments and the cost to fix them, the decree author argued, “our monuments will find themselves in much better condition in no time. Thus the effort of the commissions and the inspectors, and the expense of the government will be justified.”

The ministry’s agenda regarding the built environment was subsequently confirmed by the departmental nomenclature. The March 13, 1882 Directorate personnel order was the first to denominate the main institutional category as: Museums, Galleries, Excavations, and National Monuments (Appendix J-g).<sup>83</sup> The 1882 personnel order subsumed all previous personnel orders for individual institutions or department sections to include “the employees of all museums, excavations, galleries, pinacoteche, and the custody of national monuments, so that each institution can be assigned the number of employees necessary.”<sup>84</sup>

At the same time, the Directorate General further specialized its functions, “separating the institutions of instruction from those concerned with the conservation of

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<sup>81</sup> The 1881 fine arts budget is printed in: *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, vol. 7 (1881), 9-12, 137-54.

<sup>82</sup> *February 17, 1881 Ministerial Circular* assigned to the prefects presiding over conservation commissions for the repeatedly requested monument inventories. The circular was not printed in any of the contemporary collections of laws and decrees (circulars sometimes did not make it into the publications), nor was it present in the ministry’s February 1881 bulletin. It is, however, available on the current website for the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities, specifically their Central Institute for Catalog and Documentation, in a dedicated search engine for “Norms and Regulations.” [http://www.iccd.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/381/norme-e-regolamenti/normeeregolamenti\\_5076b059e5b85/45](http://www.iccd.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/381/norme-e-regolamenti/normeeregolamenti_5076b059e5b85/45)

While not exhaustive, the site offers a convenient, searchable repository of PDF transcriptions of several significant ministry acts back to 1881. The site appears to be the modern equivalent of the very catalog the ministry was attempting to compile in the 1880s.

<sup>83</sup> *Collezione delle leggi ed atti del governo del Regno d'Italia (Anno 1882 Dal N. 582 al 1177 quater)*, (Naples: Stamperia Governativa, Proprietario e Direttore Cav. Gennaro Salvati, 1883), 195-97. *March 13, 1882 R. D. 679* approved the personnel order of the employees of museums, galleries, excavations, and national monuments.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

monuments and objects of art.”<sup>85</sup> New standards and protocol for restorations were also sent to the provincial prefects and the conservation commissions in 1882 (Appendix J-h).<sup>86</sup> The regulations required research into the building’s documentary history and investigations regarding its physical state. Projects had to contain a written report demonstrating evidence of this research, accompanied by documentation, drawings made to precise scales, cost estimates, and the plan of execution. Projects had to be submitted to the prefect, where they were then subject to the approval of the conservation commissions on historical and artistic grounds, and the Civil Engineering Corps on technical and administrative grounds. The projects could then commence under the surveillance of these provincial bodies or directly by delegates of the respective ministries, in cases of particular importance. The ministry followed with a separate decree to the provincial prefects presiding over the conservation commissions outlining how decisions about restorations should be made (Appendix J-i). This how-to guide listed instructions for what should be preserved or restored, and what should be eliminated.

## LEGISLATIVE TIGHTENING & EXPORT CONTROL

Most recent and current scholarship, as well as commentary from the 1880s, bemoans the delay in the establishment of a national law to enforce the ministry’s desires.<sup>87</sup> However, evidence points to continuous efforts toward the passage of such legislation. In 1881, the ministry completed the first phase of a research project into the laws of the former states of the Italian peninsula prior to 1861.<sup>88</sup> The first batch, reproduced in their 1881 bulletin, included all the laws from the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. In later years, the project expanded to include legislation from other former states. A 1996 book edited by Andrea Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei Beni Artistici e Culturali negli antichi stati*

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid. *March 13, 1882 R. D. 678* separated the institutions of instruction from those concerned with the conservation of monuments and objects of art

<sup>86</sup> Amante, *Nuove illustrazioni 1887*, 663-67. *July 21, 1882 Ministerial circulars 683 and 683bis* established the regulations for the service for the restoration of monuments. The second circular was addressed to the prefects presiding over the conservation commissions, providing more specific technical guidelines for their decisions regarding restorations.

<sup>87</sup> Renard, "Architecture et figures identitaires."; Dalla Negra, "Verso l'assetto definitivo delle strutture di tutela: dai delegati regionali alla nascita delle soprintendenze (1880-1907)."; Amante, *Nuove illustrazioni 1887*.

<sup>88</sup> *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, 7, 383-87.



*italiani 1571-1860*, collects these various projects. While the connection to the broader project of the protection of heritage is obvious, the collection of the Tuscan laws was explicitly preoccupied with halting the illegal loss of works of art and objects of antiquity. The collection of laws in the ministry bulletin was entitled, “Italian laws on the extraction of works of antiquity and fine arts from the ancient States of Italy prior to 1861.”<sup>89</sup> While Emiliani has defined the project as a more generic endeavor, the ministry explicitly classified the project as research into the exportation laws. The ministry’s introduction noted that the project would “be useful when the research of a much-desired single law is again taken up, concerning the exportation of objects of art and antiquities; a law that, while respecting the rights of private property, places a rigorous obstacle in the way of the dispersion of our artistic and historic treasures.” The statement affirmed the ultimate desire to secure the right of the state over the nation’s works of art and antiquity through national legislation.

The discussion of a law promulgated by Pietro Leopoldo in 1780 illustrated the ministry’s perspective on exportation.<sup>90</sup> Leopoldo’s law had abolished all previous restrictions on the excavation of coins, inscriptions, statues, and other discoveries, allowing their export. The ministry was critical that the law resulted in the lack of a preemptive government right over objects of heritage. The ministry author argued that despite the government’s supposed right over found objects, there was no obligation to apply for a permit to excavate or export them. The report concluded:

Pietro Leopoldo’s law considered ancient art not as the heritage of a state or a nation, but as world heritage: a liberal idea, which in practice was less beneficial for archaeology and art than for merchants.<sup>91</sup>

The criticisms in this instance indicate the extent to which the beliefs about the domain of the state were invented and augmented in this period. They had to eradicate liberal notions of private property and world heritage in order to give root to the nationalistic ideal. The remainder of the report contained predictably equal praise of state protection and concern in the event of its lack or elimination. Some of the ministry’s own activities suggest some of their preoccupations at the time, including regulation of the export office, a local ordinance

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 383.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 384.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

approving the demolition of buildings attached to the Pantheon, and a generic reminder to the conservation commissions that found antiquities were not free to keep but must be relinquished to the appropriate authorities (Appendix J-j).

There were several attempts in the 1880s to establish a rigorous national preservation law and a stronger regional administration.<sup>92</sup> Even the ministry's contemporaries chronicled their failed attempts.<sup>93</sup> Bruto Amante, a Roman individual who independently published the ministry's legislation in the 1880s, included the text of a law that passed the senate in 1886 but failed to pass two different presentations to the camera. The law officially made the alteration of a work of artistic or historical merit illegal without state approval, implementing more pervasive surveillance and the authority to suspend any project. The terms of the failed law resemble the regulations already in effect by ministerial or royal decrees. Their explicit reiteration in the legislative context, however, suggests that in some way the ministry lacked the full authority to enforce its decrees. The continual envisioning of a robust administration produced incremental results over the following two decades.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF REGIONAL DELEGATES & NEW REGULATIONS OVER THE CONTENT & PRAXIS OF RESTORATIONS

Failure to pass national legislation led to temporary, "provisional" measures to ensure the conservation of monuments in the meantime. In 1884, the ministry was still actively trying to effect the completion and revision of the inventory of national monuments (Appendix J-k):

Considering that the current list of national monuments does not actually comprise all the buildings of interest for history or for art, and it is thus impossible to know which and how many among these buildings as yet unwritten in the aforementioned list are in greater need of repair...<sup>94</sup>

The ministry thus instituted a delegate in each region of the kingdom to

propose the modifications to be made to the current list of national monuments, revising it to comprise all the sacred and profane buildings from the most ancient temples through the entire seventeenth century that merit conservation for any reason, indicating their current state and the work needed to achieve good structural conditions.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Dalla Negra, "Verso l'assetto definitivo delle strutture di tutela: dai delegati regionali alla nascita delle soprintendenze (1880-1907)," 200.

<sup>93</sup> Amante, *Nuove illustrazioni* 1887, 631-33.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 671. November 27, 1884 Ministerial Decree instituted regional delegates for national monuments

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

In the place of their former pleas to the prefects that their expense would be justified, the 1884 decree set the expenses in the ministry's budget, with a cap at 3,000 lire.<sup>96</sup>

Six months later in 1885, the ministry issued circulars to the delegates and to the prefects and commissioners of excavations explaining the delegates' mission, and instructing the other institutions to assist them however possible (Appendix J-l-m).<sup>97</sup> The instructions recounted the familiar issues with the current inventory and the impact of those shortcomings on the allocation of essential state funds. They added the scourge of unnecessary restoration projects being completed while urgent works remained unknown and therefore impossible to carry out. The circular also noted the need for an up-to-date land registry, "without which the ministry cannot demand the preservation of the monument to the responsible party."<sup>98</sup> As stated in the earlier requests, the absence of concrete plans to achieve acceptable structural conditions impeded their applications to Parliament for the necessary funds. Given the situation, the ministry clarified that the delegates should:

verify whether the old list for the region of your jurisdiction includes all the required information for all the monuments worthy of state preservation; if not, the delegate shall add those that have been omitted, and remove others that have been wrongly included. And since it is necessary to indicate the reasons a monument is deemed worthy, the delegates must include all historic documentation to which they refer, along with their description of the monument's artistic merit, to be classified in three orders: those of national importance, regional importance, and local importance.<sup>99</sup>

Rather than constituting a deviation from the previous campaigns for the lists, the delegates' assignment was a more vigorous version of the same desire: locally collected information in the service of a national agenda for the preservation of a particular historical heritage. The regulations also reiterated the accompanying documentation, such as drawings or photographs, that might serve the ministry's case for their restoration, as well as the stipulation that the lists indicate the monuments' current state.<sup>100</sup> New to this iteration was the preoccupation with determining the monument owners, perhaps having realized that they could require negligent property owners to pay for maintenance costs. The regulations

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<sup>96</sup> Unclear from the decree's formulation whether the limit was comprehensive or per region.

<sup>97</sup> Amante, *Nuove illustrazioni* 1887, 671-75. June 6, 1885 Ministerial Decrees 775 & 776 regulations concerning the role of the regional delegates (one addressed to the delegates, the other to the prefects and the excavation commissioners)

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 672.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 672-73.

also stipulated that the delegates list any additional information from the *catasto* (land registry), such as subletters.<sup>101</sup>

The circular reiterated to the delegates their authorization to carry out any provisional work that was essential to forestall or prevent damage to the monuments, referring them to the earlier decree from 1882 and the accompanying circular for specific regulations. The delegates were asked to limit restoration proposals to those indispensable for the prevention of the monument's decay, and to make cost estimates for establishing good structural conditions and for future maintenance. The indications regarding the division of costs between the ministry and private owners was new in 1885, differentiating between costs to be incurred by the owners alone where they would maintain the buildings "for the use of which they were created," and those "to be sustained by the ministry alone that exclusively regard the interests of art."<sup>102</sup> The delegates were given the authority to suspend "poorly organized or managed works in progress," referring them to the Ministry with their recommendations of how they should proceed. The ministry compelled the prefects and the commissioners to advocate for the delegates with all the local authorities:

Write to the representatives of the provinces, communes, and churches, as well as private individuals in possession of monuments, that they give the delegates whatever they need to carry out their work.<sup>103</sup>

In addition to the owners and local authorities, the ministry invited the local technical and artistic institutions to lend their assistance if asked, particularly the use of their libraries and archives.

The following year, the ministry issued more detailed regulations for the management of monument restorations (Appendix J-n). Riccardo Dalla Negra, a scholar of the early institutions of state conservation, has emphasized the significance of the 1886 regulations. The decree explicitly stated that it was meant as a "provisional regulation of the service for the restoration of national monuments and the excavations of antiquity" in

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 673.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

anticipation of the passage of a law providing for a broader reform.<sup>104</sup> It laid out the protocol for project planning and the disbursement of funds, specifying the systems for works managed directly by the regional authority or those contracted out to private firms, in technical, contractual language. Dalla Negra also pointed to the decree's anticipation of the regional offices created in 1891. Despite the necessity for a regional administration to accommodate the 1886 rules, the infrastructure to enforce them did not yet exist.

Dalla Negra perhaps exaggerated the importance of the delegates by calling them the “embryos of the modern superintendencies.”<sup>105</sup> His argument was based primarily on the idea that the 1885 circular augmented their role from the initial 1884 decree. While the 1885 circular was certainly more explicit, it was still well within the basic framework of the desired inventory of monuments, as described repeatedly over the previous ten years. With a few exceptions, the mission entrusted to the delegates did not significantly alter these repeated requests to the conservation commissions, inspectors, and provincial prefects to produce the inventory, or their responsibilities to propose urgent restorations. Dalla Negra was right to highlight the creation of the delegates as significant, but failed to acknowledge that their tasks were reassigned from those previously designated to the conservation commissions.

## 5.4 The Local Public Sphere & National Consciousness: The 1888 Restoration Campaign

In Piacenza, regional institutions would eventually assume greater control over San Francesco and its historical image. However, during the transitional period between the domain of the church and the domain of the state, a multiplicity of perspectives emerged in the local press, scholarly journals, and among architects and engineers. The interaction between these groups produced a forum for debate about the restorations. In later years, the regional and national bureaucracy had the privileged position, however in this early period, local voices dominated discourse about the church.

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<sup>104</sup> *Collezione delle leggi ed atti del governo del Regno d'Italia (Anno 1886 Dal N. 3618 al 4268bis)*, (Naples: Real Stab. Tip. del Cav. G. Salvati, 1886), 219-21. *April 22, 1886, R. D. 3859* approved the regulations concerning in-house works of restorations to national monuments and for the excavations of antiquity.

<sup>105</sup> Dalla Negra, "Verso l'assetto definitivo delle strutture di tutela: dai delegati regionali alla nascita delle soprintendenze (1880-1907)," 202.

## THE DEPUTAZIONE SCHOLAR: COUNT GIUSEPPE NASALLI

In 1888, the distinguished scholar-count Giuseppe Nasalli published a history of San Francesco in the local journal, *Strenna piacentina*.<sup>106</sup> Nasalli was a prominent member of the *Deputazione per la storia patria per le provincie di Parma e Piacenza* from 1862-1905, as well as Piacenza's Conservation Commission, from at least 1877-91.<sup>107</sup> He was also on the administrative council of the Gazzola Fine Arts Institute in 1868-69, and the boards of many other learned societies.<sup>108</sup> Nasalli's history of San Francesco is a quintessential example of the scholarship produced during the heyday of the deputazioni. He attended to current controversies regarding the building's restoration, followed by a well-researched history of the church, from the 1278 land acquisition to the present, including an inventory of the church's inscriptions reminiscent of Emmanuelli. The two scholars cannot be assimilated to one another, though. While Emmanuelli's text contained its share of colorful language, even prone to hyperbole, the rhetorical register of Nasalli's prose suggests a writer who strove to emulate Cicero and Dante.

Nasalli demonstrated an awareness that the popular interest in the Middle Ages was a recent phenomenon. In a discussion of a series of terracotta roundels high on the exterior of the campanile, he commented that "twenty-thirty years ago, no one had thought about them: we were more familiar with Roman or Greek antiquities than medieval ones."<sup>109</sup> In addition to its status as a newly recuperated medieval monument, San Francesco was also significant within the history of the Risorgimento and Piacenza's annexation to the Kingdom of Italy. Nasalli addressed the history of the church's closure at length, as though San Francesco were a war veteran following its occupation by foreign armies. A particularly popular anecdote occurred during an early (failed) campaign at Italian unification. On May 10, 1848, Piacenza proclaimed itself the first Italian province to annex itself to the Kingdom

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<sup>106</sup> Nasalli, "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza."

<sup>107</sup> Page numbers refer to the *Stato del Personale*, included at the end of the collection of the year's bulletins. *Annuario della istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1868-69*, 373. *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, vol. 3 (1877), 80, 102. *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, vol. 5 (1879), 107, 130. *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, 7, 161, 190. *Stato del personale addetto alla pubblica istruzione del Regno d'Italia nel 1891.*, (Rome: Stabilimento Tipografico di E. Sinimberghi, 1891), 71, 359.

<sup>108</sup> *Annuario della istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1868-69*, 407.

<sup>109</sup> "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza," 31.

of Sardinia, the celebration for which took place in San Francesco.<sup>110</sup> The 1848 attempt at unification was short lived, but Nasalli used it to preface his concluding remarks. Prior to 1848, an Austrian garrison had been stationed in Piacenza. Nasalli loathed the soldiers, referring to their voices among those at mass as “odious Orpheuses, who did not and will never get along with our nature, and who, with their presence alone constituted an insult to the Italian population.”<sup>111</sup> Nasalli thought it fitting that the celebration of their expulsion would occur in San Francesco, liberated from those “heterogeneous harmonic accords.” At the referendum held that May, he admitted that “despite the true, spontaneous enthusiasm of the time, they only received 37,089 votes out of the 206,566 inhabitants—the art of referenda was still in its infancy.”<sup>112</sup> Nasalli’s admission is particularly notable since references to the either “almost unanimous” or “98 percent-in-favor” referendum are standard in local rhetoric, and have been since 1848.<sup>113</sup>

Nasalli quoted an attendee of the celebration at San Francesco:

During the reading [by Antonio Bonora, a local archivist], we contemplated the vast church...we all were with the spirit of the memories of past grandiosity. And there before us towered those famous epochs when popular councils debated the lofty concepts of City and State; and the Churches were the locations of these solemn meetings, suggesting that the temples erected to Religion are also temples to Liberty...<sup>114</sup>

Nasalli’s conclusion following this historical account takes an unexpected turn. He described the banners waving and cries uttered in support of both King Charles Albert of Sardinia and Pius IX that day.<sup>115</sup> Other accounts confirm the double allegiance.<sup>116</sup> Piacenza had traditionally been a Guelph stronghold, he argued, an affiliation shared in most of Italy in the past, “but now one encounters nothing but Ghibellinism. Poor history, reduced not

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. The *plebiscito* (referendum) of 1848 is commemorated to this day in the piazza now located to the south of San Francesco, the *Piazza Plebiscito*.

<sup>113</sup> A recent celebration of the 150-year anniversary of the referendum, advertised in San Francesco, bragged of the 98 percent referendum. <http://web2.comune.piacenza.it/benvenuti/la-storia-di-piacenza/piacenza-cenni-storici-piacenza-primogenita-e-i-moti-del-48> The literature cited a royal decree of 1941 bestowing a medal on Piacenza for its role as the “first-born daughter of Italy” (*Piacenza primogenita*), a phrase coined by King Charles Albert after the 1848 referenda across Lombardy and the Veneto. The 1941 decree called the referendum “almost unanimous.”

<sup>114</sup> Nasalli, “La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza,” 37.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 36-37.

<sup>116</sup> “Revolution,” *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*, April 1, 1848 1848.

infrequently to a coat hanger for the liveries of every color!"<sup>117</sup> So Nasalli advocated for churches to be left alone as places for worship:

Wouldn't it be better if acts such as those that took place in San Francesco on May 10, 1848 were not celebrated in churches? They are consecrated to no idol, to nothing, no matter how noble or precious it is, but only to GOD. For the manifestations of political life our forefathers built the vast salon of the Palazzo Comune next door...<sup>118</sup>

San Francesco's place in the patriotic history was not quite the badge of honor it seemed at first, but was instead intended as a cautionary tale. Civil society was abandoning religion at its peril:

In Catholic churches, one speaks only of evangelical dogma and moral teaching, which under the instruction of the Church are always kept the same, and are today what they were yesterday and will be tomorrow.<sup>119</sup>

In retrospect, Nasalli's conservative position cannot have been all that uncommon among the learned societies. Constituting yet another forum for debate, nationalist fervor met with advocates for less radical ideologies.

## CAMILLO GUIDOTTI & THE VIRTUE OF TECHNICAL AUTHORITY

San Francesco was a popular topic in 1888. On January 31, the local architect Camillo Guidotti published the first in a series of articles promoting the church's restoration in Piacenza's newspaper, *La Libertà*.<sup>120</sup> Twenty-six years later, Guidotti would himself become the head of restorations at San Francesco. In 1888, however, early in his career, he had yet to establish himself as a central protagonist in Piacenza's burgeoning field of medievalizing restorations.<sup>121</sup>

Educated in Torino, Guidotti had returned to Piacenza in the 1870s to teach, first in a technical secondary school, then at the Technical Institute, and finally at the Gazzola

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<sup>117</sup> "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza," 37.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Guidotti's article originally published in issues 1521, 1522, and 1524 of *La Libertà* in 1888 were collected and republished in the *Strenna Piacentina* in 1899, due to their usefulness for "lovers of patriotic things" and because the interventions Guidotti urged had been realized: Camillo Guidotti, "La chiesa di S. Francesco," ibid. (1899).

<sup>121</sup> For brief biographies of Guidotti's career: Roberto Cassanelli, "Contributi per una "preistoria" di Camillo Guidotti architetto e restauratore," in *Alfonso Rubbiani e la cultura del restauro nel suo tempo (1880-1915)*, ed. Livia Bertelli and Otello Mazzei (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1986); "Camillo Guidotti (1853-1925)," in *Gotico, Neogotico, Ipergotico: Architettura e arti decorative a Piacenza, 1856-1915*, ed. Marco Dezzi Bardeschi (Bologna: Grafis Edizioni, 1984).



Institute of Fine Arts, where he taught from 1894-1923.<sup>122</sup> His father, Andrea Guidotti, was listed as a drawing instructor at Piacenza's technical school in 1869.<sup>123</sup> Moved by the urgency to reinvigorate the restorations to San Francesco that had been abandoned in 1885, Guidotti's article was well timed to insert his voice in the growing field of popular discourse regarding the fate of the city's monuments. His sarcastic tone and candor regarding the building's needs was unapologetic in its bestowal of praise and blame to whomever he considered to merit them. He was willing to praise the same individuals or organizations he might earlier have challenged for different reasons. He never named names, but his arguments were clear.

Guidotti was enthusiastic about the aesthetic and "light, nimble construction" of San Francesco's medieval builders.<sup>124</sup> He called the exterior of the chevet stupendous: "its masonry, six centuries old, you would say was built yesterday." He also could not resist a stab at symbolism:

The interior marvelously manifests the ideas of Christian art and its material and moral forces to ravish the ethereal regions.

His passion for everything medieval was matched by his intolerance for later additions, the notorious botteghe his favorite nemesis. Guidotti repeatedly juxtaposed the medieval genius and beauty of the church with the poor taste and damage caused by all work done since. To be sure, Guidotti wanted to do away with any and all additions; however, after expressing his relief that the "cruel art of the eighteenth century" had not too drastically altered the "organic lines of the church," he homed in on the botteghe, recapitulating Emmanuelli's account of the events from 1828 to 1857. Like Emmanuelli, Guidotti blamed them for the building's structural issues. He complained that they were "not only bizarre like the Baroque, but also immodest and immoral," denouncing the "deformed and small *bottegucchie*" of the "troglodyte goldsmiths."<sup>125</sup> He attacked the shop owners for "almost unbelievably having added to their hovels hidden closets where they stowed their safes, excavating within the

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<sup>122</sup> "Camillo Guidotti (1853-1925)."

<sup>123</sup> *Annuario della istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1868-69*, 284-85.

<sup>124</sup> Guidotti, "La chiesa di S. Francesco," 100.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

wall without any regard for the church, not hesitating to damage the buttresses.”<sup>126</sup> In contrast with Nasalli’s flourishes, Guidotti’s had the more precise aim of utilizing Emmanuelli’s account of the saga of the botteghe toward his own stated goal of their elimination.

## STRUCTURAL INTEGRITY & HISTORICAL SELECTIVITY: RESTORATIONS TO SAN FRANCESCO IN 1880-85

Guidotti made a point to state that the only Baroque incursions had been the elevated presbytery and the “deepening of the lateral walls of the aisles, the so-called *basse cappelle*.”<sup>127</sup> The restorations carried out under the Opera Parrocchiale from 1880-85 included the demolition of the presbytery, substituting the current one, “nominally elevated on two steps, in the middle of which they erected the new altar in its true liturgical place.”<sup>128</sup> Their restorations also included the church’s new pavement, the one still in place today. A footnote from the 1899 reprint added the origin and cost of the marble: black from Varenna, white from Rezzate, at a cost of nineteen lire per meter. Guidotti also reported that their restorations included painting all of the interior walls, which would have been only twelve years after Emmanuelli had done the same.

In August 1885, a pulpit was demolished on the pier at B4. Realizing the pier was full of cracks, the Opera called in the engineer Giuseppe Perreau, who wrapped the pier in iron rings.<sup>129</sup> After further examination of the cracks on the “poorly plastered pier,” Perreau opted

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>129</sup> The editor of the 1899 *Strenna* republication inserted a footnote that this “technical person” was Giuseppe Perreau (1826-92), including that he had died in 1892. Livia Bertelli, writing in 1984, mistakenly conflated the 1885 engineer Giuseppe, with his son, Giannantonio Perreau (1852-1914), who was the director of the church’s restorations years later at the turn of the century. Bertelli, “San Francesco,” 159. The coincidence that his father Giuseppe had been employed on the same building during the earlier restoration campaign in the 1880s has proved generally confusing, particularly since academic publications and bureaucratic reports alike tend to omit all but the first letter of first names. The 1899 footnote may suggest that there was already some confusion at that time, requiring them to point out that the Perreau in question was a different person than the current director of the restorations, Giannantonio Perreau. Bertelli’s confusion was not unique—a 1999 volume suggested that Giannantonio had been commissioned for a new façade of Piacenza’s bishop’s palace in 1854 Marcello Spigaroli, ed. *Piacenza: La città e le piazze* (Piacenza: TEP, 1999), 210.. In that case, their ages make clear who the actual architect was. Regardless of the inconsistencies in recent scholarship, archival documents support the employment of both father and son on San Francesco—Giuseppe beginning in 1885, and his son Giannantonio as early as 1898.

to rebuild it entirely and the Opera approved his plan.<sup>130</sup> Unfortunately, once the armature built to support the arcade during the pier's reconstruction was in place, they began to notice cracks, which then began to widen.

Guidotti indicted the ensuing public panic, as the outcry transitioned to a critique of the restorers. He acknowledged the existence of a serious issue, but pointed out that neither the main vaults nor the lateral arches had cracked. The proper reaction, he argued, was to calmly fix the problem. However, "few were accompanied by calm, and the majority response was to grossly exaggerate the damage that occurred."<sup>131</sup> Guidotti scolded the city for their poor short-term memory, reminding them of the real culprits:

Everyone forgot about the damages caused by the troglodyte goldsmiths; or the exterior buttress adjacent to the damaged pier, which had visibly lost its perpendicularity...No one was thinking about the north wall, where not only had they inserted a chapel, but in the scant remaining wall plane, they had also opened up an entrance door.<sup>132</sup>

All they could do was to criticize the current restoration work, "and brought down on it a cry of alarm throughout the city, scaring everyone about the imminent collapse of the church."<sup>133</sup> He hastened to point out that despite the reaction, two and a half years later, the building still stood.<sup>134</sup>

A card-carrying member of the public outcry, Nasalli had devoted multiple pages to a mythology- and scripture-inflected tirade against the perpetrators of the church's structural problems, personifying the "poor church," subject to the incompetence of the restorers, the selfishness of the shop owners, and other as yet unforeseeable foes.<sup>135</sup> His impassioned plea for the church's repair bemoaned that

the present condition of the building resembles Desdemona, whose love for Othello caused her misfortune. Compassion moves us to speak of San Francesco. Povera chiesa!<sup>136</sup>

His arsenal of metaphors for the church's dilapidated condition and the fraught bureaucratic and logistical situation included oysters, Samson, and a bad pun on the Italian word for "building," *immobile*:

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<sup>130</sup> Guidotti, "La chiesa di S. Francesco," 104.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 104-106.

<sup>135</sup> Giuseppe Nasalli, "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza," *ibid.* 14 (1888): 14.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 8.

While the Conservation Commission of Monuments, flat broke, laments uselessly, while the engineers present plan after plan, the lawyers, wrapped in their long togas, dispute the finer points of the case...[T]he lawyer of the fable ended up eating the oyster, leaving the dry shells to the debaters. In our case, on the other hand, the oyster is about to disappear before the inexhaustible doctrine of the jurists. The saying is supposed to go: “between two combatants, the third delights,” but the citizens of fortunate Piacenza, rather than delight, in the meantime risk death, flattened under a so-called “building” [*immobile*], which, to the contrary, might become rather mobile indeed.<sup>137</sup>

Nasalli’s blame came to rest on all parties involved, whatever their professional capacity. He continued, now directing his frustration at whomever was responsible for removing the pulpit:

Alas! Whoever disturbed the now famous column, upsetting the static conditions of the building, perhaps aspired to Samson’s undertaking? And we, innocent Philistines!<sup>138</sup>

His outraged lyricism did not fail to indict the loathed botteghe owners:

The troglodytes, who dug themselves a lair in those foundations, and who cling so dearly to their usurped property, shall be the first to die the death of the mouse. O the mice! If in their bestial race, there were born a Lycurgus, even they, after having had the lucky lot to live undisturbed in a piece of Parmesan cheese, or rather, *Piacentine* cheese, they would claim their ordained rights, and woe betide for the dairy industry!<sup>139</sup>

Not only lawyers, architects, and merchants were to blame, however. A still greater scourge threatened the church with collapse—the philanthropists:

[F]or some, such an outcome would have a payoff. They could put on a sympathetic display for the victims. They could have a grand funeral for them; one could imagine a *procession* or a *charity walk* to benefit their poor families. Is there anyone who cannot see how self-flagellating the misfortune would be? Who does not recognize the great comfort that the philanthropic spirit derives from similar carnivalesque funerals!<sup>140</sup>

Responding to precisely the kind of reaction expressed in Nasalli’s essay, Guidotti was determined to make his case. Where Nasalli’s criticisms were issued indiscriminately, Guidotti’s were strategic: if only the properly trained technical people like himself were given more power, the situation would be promptly resolved. He portrayed the restoring architects and engineers as the building’s heroic saviors from the unsavory forces that would do it harm. By casting the shop owners as the scapegoats for the structural problems encountered by the restoring architects in the 1880s, Guidotti hoped to redirect the city’s frustration against his nemeses.

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 10.

## LOCAL FUNDRAISING

Guidotti also defended the conservation commission, pointing out that they had been the first to prod the Opera to action when the structural issues became clear in August 1885. The Opera responded by commissioning an archaeological study and restoration plan compiled by Giuseppe Perreau, with a projected cost of Lit. 25,000. Guidotti presented himself as the spokesperson to get the project completed, describing it in detail.<sup>141</sup> The plan's main points included the reinforcement of the north wall with iron "tension straps" and closing up all "openings" inserted after the church's initial construction, including the botteghe and chapels. Any "holes" they were forced to tolerate would need to be reinforced by relieving arches.

The project had received approval by both the conservation commission and the *genio civile* (Civil Engineering Corps), the *genio* only hesitating with regard to the insertion of the relieving arches. The Ministry of Public Instruction approved, but their financial contribution would only subsidize the project if primarily funded by the commune and the Opera. Even after an impassioned second application with additional reports on the urgency of the repairs, the results were the same. The motivation for Guidotti's publication thus becomes clear: despite approval at the highest level, the funds to complete the project did not exist:

It is useless to delude ourselves; it is a vain hope to receive from the government something it cannot give until the allocation in the state budget for the conservation of national monuments is not seriously increased.<sup>142</sup>

As a solution to the problem, Guidotti decided to call out the institutions and individuals he thought should be held responsible in the city newspaper. He first cited the income of the parish, which he had heard was about to enjoy the addition of a new mutual fund to its budget. He was ruthless, observing that if the church collapsed, the parish would not have anything to administrate.<sup>143</sup> He also reminded readers that the municipality of Piacenza was

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<sup>141</sup> In a broad study of medieval architectural history in Piacenza, a recent scholar Valeria Poli solved the confusion between the two, noting archival documents at both the *Archivio di Stato* in Piacenza, and the archive of the church of San Francesco.

<sup>142</sup> Guidotti, "La chiesa di S. Francesco," 108.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

liable to repair the church according to an imperial regulation.<sup>144</sup> He also claimed that they should be responsible for the elimination of the botteghe for reasons of public decorum and hygiene, regardless of the structural situation. Guidotti's dismay at the continued existence of the botteghe escalated:

how could [the city] tolerate those botteghe any longer—those unsanitary receptacles attached to the church along one of the most crowded streets in the city?...Removed from that place, surely the troglodytes, revived by the progress of today's constructional techniques, would transfer themselves to adorn some other street of the city to the public benefit.<sup>145</sup>

Guidotti even challenged the conservation commission, which had already submitted two project proposals to the ministry, that it could still do more. He argued that it should apply to the ministry again, indicating the financial contributions to be made by both the municipality and the parish. He was sure the ministry would contribute an annual subsidy for the duration of the repairs, "in order that the church be restored and conserved in homage to the glorious epoch of art that it represents."

He conceded that the elimination of the botteghe presented legal and financial complications. It was still unclear whether they could legally evict the shop owners. In addition, the cost of their expropriation had not been figured into the cost estimate. Despite these obstacles, he argued one last time for the absolute necessity of their eviction and removal:

What use would it be to repair the foundations of the church if the entire flank remained disturbed by the barnacled botteghe, keeping the church in constant danger from their overly cramped neighbors?<sup>146</sup>

Even the public, the faithful in particular, he concluded, would not be able to ignore their personal responsibility to contribute to the project's finances.

## GUIDOTTI'S SUCCESS

Guidotti closed with a final recommendation relating "the most pressing structural work requiring immediate attention."<sup>147</sup> For the present moment, the most important task

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>147</sup> The breakdown of Guidotti's project suggests familiarity with the ministry's recommendations for the monument inventories in 1885, in particular, his charges of financial responsibility, as well as the plan's express description of the most necessary structural work requiring immediate attention.

was to finish what was begun in 1885, “to enter the church and give a kick to those beams.”<sup>148</sup> It was time to finally remove the temporary armature installed while the pier was being replaced. He argued that it was no longer needed since the pier’s new facing had long since taken hold: if the church could hold itself up before, it would manage even better with the reinforced pier. Other urgent work he recommended was the repair of a cracked pilaster at the crossing, detached from the wall above the springing. The possibility of slippage put the stability of the adjacent buttress in danger. This repair and the removal of the superfluous armature were the main measures for which Guidotti advocated in anticipation of the iron tension straps in Perreau’s ultimate plan. Assuring his readers that the church would not collapse, he ended with a final jab at the doubters who would have the church closed: “What, do they think the closed doors would keep the colossal building standing?”<sup>149</sup>

Guidotti was very self-assured that his pleas would be successful, expressing his “faith in the actions of the distinguished gentlemen of the Opera and in the wisdom of the honorable communal assessor delegate to public works, that [the restorations] will be reignited and completed as before.”<sup>150</sup> His campaign prevailed: editorial footnotes to the 1899 republication confirmed that the work was carried out immediately following the text’s initial publication.<sup>151</sup> Thus, Guidotti’s intervention provides not only the primary evidence for the restorations between Emmanuelli’s retirement in 1868 and the articles’ publication in 1888, but also those completed thereafter: “In the spring of 1888, the Opera Parrocchiale completed the works of consolidation on the vaults and the north side of the church, completing them in 1889.” The editor even made a note of the financial contributions made by the various parties, with the commune of Piacenza contributing Lit. 5,000, the Ministry of Grace, Justice, and Cults also donating Lit. 5,000, and finally, the Ministry of Public Instruction, with the noticeably smaller contribution of Lit. 1,000. The success of Guidotti’s intervention was multifaceted. Not only did he instill a sense of obligation in several of the institutions he charged, but his perspective was enough to compel a journal editor eleven years later to verify their contributions. The editorial description of the restorations

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<sup>148</sup> Guidotti, “La chiesa di S. Francesco,” 110.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 112.

completed in 1888-89 also suggests that they included more than the base level for which Guidotti advocated, although obviously not including the botteghe and chapel demolitions.

The articles also launched Guidotti's career: his first architectural commission, the notorious "restoration" (read: reconstruction) of the façade of San Donino, came the following year, in 1889.<sup>152</sup> By 1891, he was on Piacenza's conservation commission.<sup>153</sup> At the height of his career in 1898, he was director of restorations at Piacenza's Cathedral, where he commissioned his own portrait to be included as a column statue in an exterior gallery.<sup>154</sup> The 1899 republication of his text coincided with the beginning of Guidotti's new commission at the cathedral, perhaps to remind the public of an earlier success. At the same time, a new slate of restorations had begun at San Francesco by Giannantonio Perreau, the son of the engineer who had wrapped the damaged pier at B4 in iron rings in 1885.

Eleven years after Guidotti and Nasalli's original publications, interest in the church continued in the popular and academic press. In a way particular to their historical moment, these texts reflect the collective result of the local forum on monument restorations. With little outside push, the opinions emerging in the popular and academic presses and the restorations carried out by local architects and engineers were relatively uninhibited by the kind of institutional mediation preceding and following them.

## 5.5 The Effect of Regional Surveillance & National Legislation at the Turn of the Century

### INSTITUTIONS OF INCREASED STATE CONTROL: THE UFFICI REGIONALI & THE PROVINCIAL ARTS ADMINISTRATION OF 1891

From 1891-95, the central administration of the Ministry of Public Instruction was reorganized several times (Appendix K-a, b, d, h, i). Additional circulars and decrees again attempted the establishment of artistic and technical norms, but they again fell short of passage into national legislation. The central ministry also reorganized its advisory boards several times, combining and dividing responsibilities between antiquities and fine arts

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<sup>152</sup> Cassanelli, "Contributi per una "preistoria" di Camillo Guidotti architetto e restauratore," 277. Cassanelli claimed that the radical redesign of the façade "could not in any way be considered a restoration." Also in "La facciata di San Donnino," in *Gotico, Neogotico, Ipergotico: Architettura e arti decorative a Piacenza, 1856-1915*, ed. Marco Dezzi Bardeschi (Bologna: Grafis, 1984).

<sup>153</sup> *Stato del personale addetto alla pubblica istruzione del Regno d'Italia nel 1891.*, 71.

<sup>154</sup> "Contributi per una "preistoria" di Camillo Guidotti architetto e restauratore," 278.



commissions (Appendix K-g). The various reorganizations of the central arts administration reveals a specific preoccupation with control over the restorations of national monuments, reflected in the shift of domain between antiquities and fine arts administrations (Appendix K-f). The dispute was between the more scholarly attitudes represented by the antiquities administration and the practicing architects on the fine arts side, each desiring primary authority over the aesthetic future of the nation's architectural patrimony.

By 1891, the regional commissariati that had previously been considered part of the main fine arts division of Pinacoteche, Museums, Excavations of Antiquities, and National Monuments, had been separated out to form a new part of the ministry's administration: the Provincial Arts Administration, which also included the Conservation Commissions and the Export Permit Offices (Appendix K-c). Dalla Negra insistence on the importance of the regional delegates does not bear out in the 1891 ministry bulletin: the ten delegates listed in various sections of the bulletin, some with no mention of their status as delegates (Appendix K-e). He also argued that the commissariati were inconsequential, but their presence in the new provincial organization at least reflects an attempt to regularize them and implement them toward the purpose of regional control.

Later that year, the personnel order enacted in R. D. 549 of August 19, 1891, established a new provincial arts administration, including the creation of regional technical offices (*Uffici regionali*) with the former regional delegates appointed as directors.<sup>155</sup> The new *uffici* included administrative as well as technical personnel.<sup>156</sup> Since the creation of the regional delegates in 1884, the Ministry had continued to work toward the eventual creation of the superintendencies and national legislation. The *uffici* embodied the long-desired provincial seats of centralized authority with a technical staff sufficient to supervise the ongoing restorations in the regions.

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<sup>155</sup> *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e dei decreti del regno d'Italia: Parte principale (Anno 1891)*, vol. Volume Terzo (Rome: Stamperia Reale, 1891), 3648.

<sup>156</sup> The way the personnel order decrees were listed did not indicate the location of the positions, only the number. The list was divided into five types of personnel categories: scientific (15 directors, 15 inspectors, 15 auditors), technical (10 architect-engineer directors, 14 architect-engineers, 10 draftsmen, 14 assistants), administrative (24 economic secretaries, 35 economic vice-secretaries), custodial (10 conservators, 238 custodians, 40 excavation guards), and service (124 attendants).

Dalla Negra even characterized the *uffici* as inept to properly surveil and control restoration activity prior to the establishment of the superintendencies in 1907. He described the transitional moment of 1891:

Despite its laborious construction, the administrative structure was inadequate confronted with new and growing responsibilities of conservation, which grew in parallel to the increased theoretical information in the field of monument restoration.<sup>157</sup>

Dalla Negra described an administrative structure that was incapable of surveilling the monuments under its auspices and insufficient to digest “the increased theoretical information” that would supposedly dictate how they should proceed with restoration projects.

However, the restorations of the next architect at San Francesco, Giannantonio Perreau, will show that the “Ufficio Regionale” in Bologna exercised considerable authority over Perreau’s project. The record of correspondence between Perreau and the regional *ufficio* in Bologna begins in 1898. Prior to the *ufficio*’s creation, a few records of restorations had been preserved in Piacenza’s Archivio di Stato and in the small archive remaining at the church of San Francesco. The *ufficio* established its own archive, which stored documents generated at the local, regional, and national levels—newspaper articles, correspondence between the institutions and individuals responsible for the restorations, status reports, photographs, plans, itemized cost inventories, and briefs. The Opera Parrocchiale, the conservation commission, and the municipality of Piacenza remained protagonists in the new archive. Interaction with the administration at the national level was limited primarily to conflict resolution between the *ufficio* and the architect, or when the restorations required additional funding. The ultimate authority dictated by the *ufficio* and the ministry replaced the earlier debates in the public sphere. The published or epistolary opinions of respected local authorities had a new outlet in responsive bureaucrats with official mandates to halt work.

In 1902, the proponents of state control could safely claim victory—after forty years, they had finally succeeded in passing national legislation to regulate the conservation of art

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<sup>157</sup> Dalla Negra, “Verso l’assetto definitivo delle strutture di tutela: dai delegati regionali alla nascita delle soprintendenze (1880-1907),” 199.

and antiquity, the so-called Nasi Law.<sup>158</sup> There was an accompanying central reorganization once more in 1901, with a strong Directorate General of Antiquities and Fine Arts in control over all art-related functions in the country (Appendix J-j). Italy had permanently shifted to embrace these institutions as necessary to control its monuments as part of national identity and its patrimony, against the wishes of proponents of private property rights.

## RESTORATIONS UNDER GIANNANTONIO PERREAU (1898-1903)

Perreau's restorations concentrated on the exterior of the church, primarily on major medieval signifiers such as pinnacles, flying buttresses, and the restoration of the facade. The project's plans for the interior were abandoned, as were those for the exposure of the south portal, which would eventually be completed under the next director of restorations, Camillo Guidotti, beginning in 1914. The Ufficio and the National Ministry intervened on Perreau's project several times during the planning and execution of the work, reflecting the increasing institutional authority to control the outcome of restorations to historic monuments at the turn of the century.

Perreau submitted his initial restoration plan on March 13, 1898. A letter dated September 28, 1898 from the Prefect to the Ufficio, regarded the presentation of plans for the restoration of the church to the Conservation Commission.<sup>159</sup> The Ufficio responded on October 8 that approval was wanted, and asked that the Prefect remember that the chapel of Sant'Antonio had artistic merit and that the Conservation Commission declare a particular vote as to its demolition. In December 1898, the matter was still being debated, even at the top level of the National Ministry. Per their request, the Ufficio submitted Perreau's plans and photos, emphasizing the good state of the altar of Sant'Antonio. On February 8, 1899 the Ministry approved the entire plan with the exception of the destruction of the Altar of Sant'Antonio and the Chapel of the Conception. On February 11, the Ufficio notified Perreau, warning him to strictly follow the rules prescribed.

The budget was submitted on May 2, 1899 and work began July 11, with headmaster Angelo Bernini providing the necessary scaffolds, fences, and construction labor. Additional

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<sup>158</sup> Renard, "Architecture et figures identitaires," 189.

<sup>159</sup> Lavori di ripristino e restauro, 1898. San Francesco di Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e paesaggistici di Parma e Piacenza, Parma.

work was added in an appendix to the original plan on September 14, 1899. A report dated February 5, 1900, signed by Ing. G. Perreau, summarized the work that had been completed as of that date. He offered detailed accounts of the restorations carried out, including those along the north wall, the façade socle, the central and lateral pinnacles of the façade, the flying buttresses, and repairs to the nave roof. The total cost of the restorations at that date was 10,045.66 *lire* (\$2,000 in 1900, \$243,000 in 2011).

### *Medievalizing Exterior Features: Pinnacles & Flying Buttresses (1899)*

On the north perimeter wall, in the bay closest to the façade, they removed a structure attached to the church, or “cassone sporgente” along the Via XX Settembre. During the repair, they realized the dilapidated state of the north perimeter wall, reduced to a thickness of only 30 cm from the pavement of the church to over the vault of the corresponding aisle bay and only 15 cm in the lower part down to street level. On the exterior above the vault, a wide uneven crack extended along the length of the wall and there was no relieving arch for the wall above that bore the thrust of the roof. He attributed the wall damage to several iterations of aisle vaults at three different moments, which had resulted in an unbalanced equilibrium. Perreau was confident that the reconstruction of the wall “according to its previous composition” with the addition of iron reinforcement had eliminated the threat of movement and ensured its structural integrity.

In accordance with the approved project, two arcaded and flat niches were left in the new wall corresponding to the botteghe at 11 and 13 Via XX Settembre. Above the roof of the botteghe they inserted two large windows of a similar width to those in the third bay, with analogous window frames. The windows at A1-2 are immaculate emulations of other windows along the north wall, although it is unclear what windows in the third bay, which would correspond to A3-4, would have been imitated in 1900. The current windows at A3-4 belong to a different stylistic group with flat moldings. It is therefore possible he meant a different bay, such as the fourth bay, or that he meant the upper windows in the third bay.

The restoration of the first bay on the north perimeter wall and reopening its windows had been budgeted at 3,011.20 *lire*, with an actual cost of 4,351.16 *lire*. The iron

reinforcement of the first bay on the north perimeter wall was budgeted at 110 lire, with an actual cost of 94,50 lire.

The flying buttresses were patched with bricks and cement mortar, eliminating cracks that threatened their stability. Iron reinforcements were not added because they were “contrary to the scope in which the buttresses were constructed” and because they were unnecessary, since there were no signs of recent movement or outward thrust. The repair of the flying buttresses on the apse and the north side of the church were budgeted at 400 lire, and the actual cost was 200 lire.

The newspapers attentively followed the restorations. In 1899, the Piacenza periodical, *La Libertà*, reported on the scaffolding in place to complete the central pinnacle on the façade on August 2. The reporter commented that there were claims the pinnacle was being restored according to its original composition, but that there was no documentary proof. An article two days later described ongoing work on the tympanum of the façade’s central portal.

Perreau described restorations to first the existing lower part of the pinnacle, including replacing the brickwork where necessary and completion of the cornice. They subsequently rebuilt the two upper sections to complete it. They attached a lightning rod with a 78-meter-long copper wire that discharged in the parish yard. The total cost of the central pinnacle including the lightning rod had been projected at 1,250 lire, and the total cost was 1,700. He explained that while working on the central pinnacle, he recognized that other works of restoration were necessary, some of which were very urgent. Those were described in the appraisal appendix on September 14. Three damaged roof beams closest to the façade were renewed and some of the roof tiles were changed at the apex of the roof, as well as some of the minor trusses in the same area. The repair of the roof was planned at 1,654.64 lire, with an actual cost of 1,600 lire.

The lateral pinnacles were also found to be in immediate need of repair. Several of the colonnetes were corroded and cornices disconnected, with an imminent danger of falling material on the high traffic street below. The Ufficio had agreed that the situation required attention. They notified the prefect and the Opera approved emergency repairs. They

removed six colonettes from the middle section of each and three courses of shaped bricks from the cornices on the first and second segments. Some of the little arches were replaced where missing and some of the brickwork below the cone was patched. They had budgeted 1,400 lire, and the total cost was 1,200 lire.

### *Socle Debate (1899)*

A letter of November 27, 1899 advised Perreau to restore the façade in brick, not stone. He advised Perreau not to repeat the “ugly glazing of false Gothic.” On December 2, 1899, *La Libertà* reported that the old bricks of the socle were being removed and replaced with stone. The Superintendent and the Inspector instructed Perreau to halt all activity and to restore the building “all’antico,” but reports continued that Perreau was replacing bricks with stone.<sup>160</sup> Perreau defended his actions on December 7, explaining that the work had already been completed the previous summer. He argued that the office had been informed verbally of his plan and that they had not objected at the time. He added that furthermore, the bricks had not been original and that he had done “tests with technical people” that showed they were added later. Perreau wrote a second letter on December 9, reiterating that the removed brick had not been original, which he had observed based on their profiles.

Once the Conservation Commission had inspected Perreau’s work on the façade socle on December 12, they begrudgingly conceded that the stone Perreau had used to replace the bricks did not “offend the façade’s organic lines.”<sup>161</sup> On December 15, the Ufficio wrote to the Prefect that due to the vote of the conservation commission, the office would no longer object to the question of the socle. However they warned him that before beginning any other restoration work, the Opera would have to correspond to the “antico” and would be subject to the approval of the Ufficio. On January 22, 1900, Perreau finally responded with a dismissive explanation that he had not stopped work on the socle in the first place because he had interpreted it as merely a suggestion.<sup>162</sup> The elimination of additions at the base of the façade buttresses, the work on the socle and the pavement was budgeted at 201 lire, and the actual cost was 900 lire.

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<sup>160</sup> Letter of December 6, 1899

<sup>161</sup> Letter of December 14, 1899

<sup>162</sup> Letter of January 22, 1900

### *Casette Conflict (1903)*

The second standoff was in 1903. At the center of the debate was the redecoration of the house next door to the church. The conflict between Perreau and the church Opera on one hand (who were executing the restorations to the house), and the superintendent on the other, with a supporting cast of a tattle-tale professor, a state-employed engineer, the Inspector of Monuments, the mayor, the Prefect, the local commissions of ornament and conservation, and the National Ministry of Public Instruction, dragged on for five months. The façade of the house was contiguous with the southwest corner buttress of San Francesco. The reaction over a seemingly small elevation in height (0.70 m) of a neighboring building may owe to bureaucratic flexing after the increased power received in the passage of a 1902 law that increased the authority of the state to monitor the interventions of restorations. Perreau's restorations therefore highlight the experience of the institutional transition to more centralized state control.

The controversy began on June 30, 1903 when a local professor wrote to the Ufficio to complain that work was being done on the houses contiguous to the southwest corner buttress of San Francesco's façade. He had found the houses offensive to the national monument already, so it was unimaginable that the one closest to the church should be elevated. The Ufficio responded immediately with a flurry of telegrams: when the Inspector of Monuments was not in, they wrote to the Prefect, demanding to know whether the municipality had cleared it with them. The Prefect, the Inspector, and Perreau tried to reassure the Ufficio that it had been approved and that it was only a minor height increase of 0.80 meters, but the Ufficio suspended work pending inspection. They requested Perreau's project from the mayor.

After a few weeks with permission not yet given, the original vigilante professor wrote to the Ufficio to let them know that work had resumed. Horrified, the Ufficio wrote to the Prefect to enforce the suspension still in effect and that since "amicable relations with Perreau had failed," to communicate the suspension to the Opera, while they awaited the deliberation of the National Ministry. On August 8, the Opera president wrote to the Prefect that he would not suspend all work on the two houses, except where the elevation

was in contact with the pilaster, for which he would await approval. He also rejected the proposal of the Ufficio's engineer Germano, which had involved cutting back the façade of the two houses to reveal the exterior corner of the church, where they currently covered up part of the corner buttress.

On August 18, 1903, the Ufficio again appealed to the mayor for the particulars of the decorations so that they could be studied and so that "architectonic dissonances did not occur." They included a copy of the report of works carried out by the Ufficio in 1901, a list of the monuments of the reign, and a second copy they asked to be given to Professor Guidotti.<sup>163</sup> On September 17, the Ministry wrote to the Ufficio that it did not have the authority to impose on the parish the retraction of the existing façade of the house by 0.50 meters, but that it could impede the elevated addition of 0.70 meters. They also asked the Ufficio about the necessity of stopping it, and to please send a good photo of the whole thing, in the hope that by way of negotiations with the mayor, it could have a more correct decoration.

The Ufficio wrote again to the mayor referring to the August 18 report, and based on the restrictions the Ministry claimed it could impose, they hoped that the mayor could advise a more correct and less conspicuous decoration.

On September 21, the mayor responded to inform them that the Ornament Commission advised the parish to set the wall of the houses back to keep the corner of the church revealed where they were elevating the house. The commission would not, however, dictate a different style than the one planned, not having been offended by the aesthetics. It would also not impose onerous demands such as moving the façade of the houses.

The Ufficio was still not willing to let it go. It wrote again to the Ministry of September 28, that it was its firm opinion that the plan to raise the house by 0.70 meters should be prohibited because it would significantly hide a part of the corner pilaster. They included a photograph and sketch with the planned elevation. They referred to their

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<sup>163</sup> It is unclear from the records what Guidotti's role might have been at the time. He was documented on the city's Conservation Commission in 1912, so he may have been serving in a similar capacity in 1903.



attempts with the mayor to stop the ugly decoration Perreau had planned. However, they did not communicate the new proposal to set the house back where they were elevating it.

On October 19, the Ministry replied to the Ufficio that according to article 13 of the law of June 12, 1902, they could not consent to the elevation of the house attached to the church because of the obstruction of the corner of the church façade. The Ministry asked that the mayor and parish both be alerted. They approved the inspection of the decoration, and it will be allowed if the discussions have a favorable result.

On November 4, the Prefect wrote back to the Ufficio that a letter from the parish explained that they intended to withdraw from the elevation as planned, and to pull back the front face of the elevation in such a way as to leave the corner of the church exposed. They would await approval of the Ornament Commission. The Opera expressed its frustration with the Ufficio in a letter of November 6, specifically that they had tattled to the Ministry and predisposed them to reject the small raise in elevation, and their abrogation of the Inspector's approval. Wanting to bring the debate to an end, they proposed the setback of the extension, from the parapet of the window on the second floor to the roof, so that it would be tangent with the corner of the church. The Prefect wrote to the Ufficio on November 14 about the renewed project, asking for a quick solution. The Ufficio responded that they were coming to Piacenza to resolve the debate on November 16, where the director finally approved the compromise.

### *Abandoned Plans (1900-1902)*

The abandoned restorations on the interior of the church had included the elimination of the two altars on the south side at E3-4, which were to be walled up. They had also planned to reduce the opening to the chapel of the Addolorata at E4-5 to match the "style of the church." They planned a roof repair on the Chapel of the Concezione along the south wall. Finally, they had planned several restorations in the area of the convent south of the church, including the restoration of an arch between the bay at E3-4 and the structure beyond, which was the former refectory. The plans had also included the demolition of structures in front of the south portal entrance at E6-7, as well as restorations to the vault

and replacement of the ceiling in the vestibule. They also did not carry out original plans to repair a damaged roof beam in the south arm of the transept.

In April, 1900 the parish requested more funds. On June 4, 1901 the Ufficio requested documentation in order to get them 1,500 lire from the Ministry, with a response on July 12. The Ministry wrote to the Ufficio on October 3 that the money was coming, communicated to the parish on October 20. On December 23, 1901 the parish finally got the money.

On July 8, 1902 the city voted to install a plaque on the façade of the church commemorating the vote of May 10, 1848 to annex the city and province to Piedmont. Piacenza had been a precocious adherent to the House of Savoy during the earlier attempt at unification in 1848, leading to the epithet “Piacenza Primogenita<sup>164</sup>” Recalling this event proudly on the façade of the church proclaimed the city’s importance within the new country, as well as the church’s place within that identity as one of the central civic monuments of the city.

## 5.6 The Golden Age of Bureaucracy

### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SUPERINTENDENCIES (1902-1910)

Although the 1902 law had established the official legislation over the objects and monuments of national heritage, the law creating the superintendencies was not passed until 1907. The 1907 law established the roles of each position type at the regional superintendencies in descending order: superintendent, directors, inspectors, architects, designers, secretaries and accountants, archivists and copyists, supervisors, restorers, and custodians. It was with this law and the ministry reorganization of 1908 that the system was set until the shifts that accompanied the fascist government in the 1920s (Appendix L-a). The restorations at San Francesco will demonstrate the increased bureaucratization of the processes.

At this time, Piacenza had its own undersection of the Deputazione di Storia Patria for the Parma Provinces, which still included Giuseppe Nasalli-Rocca as an emeritus

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<sup>164</sup> Nasalli, "La chiesa di S. Francesco in Piacenza," 34.

member, as well as Camillo Guidotti and Leopoldo Cerri (who wrote several texts regarding the architecture of San Francesco) as active members.

## RESTORATIONS UNDER CAMILLO GUIDOTTI (1914-1924)

Guidotti's restorations were carried out in very orderly bureaucratic conditions. His records were perfect, as were his accounting and his applications for funds. He operated with a relatively high level of autonomy. With the exception of the isolation of the church through the demolition of the botteghe, Guidotti succeeded in realizing his vision. While Perreau only appeared in the record to deflect bureaucratic control, Guidotti engages with it directly. His reports always contain all the information required by the ministry, including the historical research, and technical and financial reports compiled by both Guidotti and the Opera Parrocchiale. There was a new committee to restore San Francesco, headed by the mayor of Piacenza, who was also an engineer. The parrocco also maintained involvement on the project. Guidotti stayed on top of communications with all important parties.

The major events characterizing Guidotti's campaign were the uncovering of the south portal and the restoration of the interior. Although Guidotti shared the desire of his predecessors to isolate the church, he could not successfully carry out the project. His restorations to the interior included stripping away all of the plaster, particularly from the brick columns and replacing damaged bricks with new, specially commissioned bricks. The restorations also revealed decorative painting throughout the church, particularly in the chevet. Guidotti hired a professional painter to restore the uncovered paintings. Guidotti's efforts were largely expended on meticulous attention to detail: the commissioning of new altars, the insertion of a gallery niche in the chevet, for both of which he hired a dedicated marble firm. His interest in historicism is demonstrated in the long sections of his reports dedicated to the building's constructive history. Whenever he encountered forms that he considered to be antique, he praised them exuberantly. He was particularly interested in the church's original moldings. Besides the vast expense of paying the construction firm for continuous labor during the years of the interior restoration, the most expensive project was that of the stained-glass windows, completed by the firm of Quentin of Florence. The windows also took the longest to complete, the last of which were not installed until 1924.

Guidotti took great care to uncover what might have been original details of the building. He was particularly interested in creating what he considered to be the proper ambience for a medieval church, a word repeated throughout his records. At the time he took over direction of the project, the windows were all plain glass, which he rejected on aesthetic grounds. In addition to the stained glass, he also commissioned wooden frames fitted with small glass roundels for the upper story of the nave.

### *Initial Project: The South Portal (1914-15)*

When documentation picked back up in 1914, Camillo Guidotti had already begun the restoration of the terracotta portal and window above on the church's south entrance. The project had been initially proposed and abandoned under Perreau in 1900. An article in the *Libertà* from December 14, 1914 described the newly revealed terracotta doorframe:

...modeled with exquisite taste and with that variety of forms and ornamental figures belonging to the medieval renaissance (*sic*). The terracotta are interspersed with ashlar, all nicely arranged with the precision of thread, that reveals the renowned wall expertise that they had in those times.

The journalist described the elimination of walls and vaults that resulted in the revelation of the portal to be admired in its entirety. He congratulated in particular the church authorities promoting the restoration, sharing a rumor that they planned to continue with the complete restoration of the church. Only then did he mention Guidotti's role, under the supervision of the superintendent in Bologna.

Guidotti summarized the portal restorations in his own report to the superintendent on February 24, 1915, confirming that they had demolished two vaults, walls, and a tribune to reveal the portal and the "eccentric arch" of the window above. Guidotti was attentive to historical particularities; included in his report was a transcription of the 1294 plaque to the right of the portal, exposed by the wall demolitions. He sought out a scholar of Piacentine nobility to identify the Lords Speroni and Philippi de Campremaldo named in the inscription. He also noted the discovery of a handwritten note from November 20, 1813. Stuffed in a hole, it included the names of French soldiers and their sergeant stationed in the city at the time. He mused whether those same French soldiers might have been at San Francesco as well, recalling the church's temporary dedication to San Napoleone. His nostalgia was tempered with hostility, pinpointing that era's decisive conclusion when

church attendants destroyed a statue of Saint Napoleon, jeering that it should instead be called a *puppet* (fantoccio).

Guidotti was primarily interested in molding details, both on the portal and the window above. The archivolt was damaged in the center where two groin vaults had their impost. He described the “appropriate taste of the *rinascenziali*” on the portal decoration. He noted the trilobed pattern on the window molding, noting its correspondence to the pattern in the cornices and on the campanile. He praised the complexity of the window molding above the portal, its three *cordoni* and *scozie* (fillets and cavets) suggesting that it was original. Some of the pendants and lobes projecting from the intrados of the window arch were damaged, but he assured that they would be redone from “the model of a similar window in the main apse of the church” so that their form would be “identical” to those of other windows with the same profile. He also pointed out that the window and the portal were not on the same axis, and were thus probably built at different times.

His suggestions about what should be done included the complete “reintegration” of the portal, attempting to model the replacement bricks and tiles to match the existing ones in composition, tint, and form. The door would also have to be replaced with one that would not be “so dissonant with the portal ornamentation.” He found a similar portal at the church of San Fermo in Piacenza, which he used for comparison. He would also apply a suitable wooden screen to the windows. By July 9, 1915, samples from the portal were ready to be shipped off to the craftsman to emulate. With the installation of the portal terracotta panels in December 1915, the portal restoration was complete. An account summary written by the Opera president, Giuseppe Bonini, on May 20, 1916, listed payments made from December 1915 to March 1916 for work on the portal and the window to masons, sculptors, carpenters and ironworkers for the terracotta pieces, wall works, the oak door, round oak window screens, and the window lattices, totaling Lit (1916) 1,877.35 (US\$(1916) 286.62/US\$(2011) 21,800).

### *Pursuit of the “Isolation” of the Monument (1916-1919)*

The increased institutionalization of the early twentieth century was accompanied by more widespread support for the project. In 1916, a committee was formed under the

presidency of the engineer Enrico Ranza, mayor of Piacenza, to “return the historic Basilica of San Francesco to its original beauty and isolate the side along the Via XX Settembre, as one of the most artistic monuments of our Piacenza.”<sup>165</sup> The project had the support of the communal and provincial administrations, a few of the city’s institutions of credit, approval of the national Ministry of Public Instruction, and the Superior Board of Fine Arts. On January 29, 1917, the national Ministry approved the project for the “isolation and restoration of San Francesco,” promising the local committee a subsidy of 20,000 lire towards their total budget of 190,000 lire, to be paid in 10 yearly installments of 2,000 lire each.<sup>166</sup> Both of these references to the project and its approval in 1916 and 1917 were recorded documents later in the building’s history (1921 and 1932, respectively), reinforcing the importance of this particular moment in the history of restorations.

Guidotti’s 1916 report emphasized the Opera’s desire for the “isolation of the monument,” to “fix the north wall along the narrow, crowded Via XX Settembre.” He reiterated sentiments from his 1888 texts that the botteghe were “without air or light, extremely cramped, and that reasons of hygiene, civility, and progress demand their elimination.” He was anxious to open an entrance along the north side of the church, citing two possible locations of earlier doors in the third and fourth bays on the left. Despite his perseverance, when attention returned to the church in 1919 after World War I, Guidotti was still seeking a legal solution to eliminate the botteghe. On March 27, 1919, he requested from the superintendent the date and title of a law regulating the expropriation of structures built illegally against artistic-civic-ecclesiastical buildings. He replaced his earlier concerns of civility and progress with reasons of security and traffic. On April 20, he wrote again that the

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<sup>165</sup> Guidotti letter dated march 16, 1921

<sup>166</sup> Letter from the Superintendent, 1932. San Francesco in Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e per il paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma. It is difficult to estimate the relative value for such a large project over a long period of time, particularly since the Italian lira was so prone to inflation during this period. For example, in 1917, one US\$ bought 7.5090 lire, but by 1927, one US\$ bought 19.3950 lire. Based on the 1917 exchange rate, the project’s estimated cost of Lit (1917) 190,000 was equivalent to US\$(1917) 25,302.97. The relative value of the US\$(1917) amount in US\$(2011) is \$1.5 million projected against the cost of unskilled labor, \$2.4 million for production worker labor, and \$6.4 million against GDP. The total government contribution of Lit (1917) 20,000 equaled US\$(1917) 2,663.47, or US\$ (2011) 163,000 (unskilled labor), 251,000 (production worker), or 673,000 against GDP, or between US\$(2011) 16,000 and 67,000/year, which does not seem to be a huge amount for a construction project. However, if the government was subsidizing multiple projects in every city in the country, their total investment would have been significant. Research into the percentage of the government’s budget spent on restoration projects could be illuminating.

mayor of the city was still awaiting the superintendent's instructions concerning the forced expropriation that he intended to impose on the botteghe, repeating his charge of their illegality. Despite these repeated attempts to disenfranchise them, the botteghe owners successfully blocked the expropriation of their shops, limiting Guidotti's restorations to the interior of the church for almost ten years.

In his 1916 report, Guidotti laid out the plan for the church's restoration, providing his own account of the building's medieval constructive history. His interest, already clear from the documentation of the restorations to the south portal, was now given full expression in a comprehensive study of the building. He refuted an earlier theory that the church had been built in three years, observing three visible periods of construction from west to east with breaks at the A4/E4 line and in the east end. He dated the apsidal chapels to the later phase, so that originally the church would have terminated in the choir reinforced by the buttresses (he was apparently unconcerned that the buttresses spring from those chapels). The forms of the east end manifested to him the rebirth of Italian art, recently revealed in the restored terracotta portal. He praised the masterful solution of the aisles meeting behind the choir, adapting to the polygonal contour of the sanctuary with trapezoidal and pentagonal vaults. His stylistic conceptions of progress thus dictated the direction of construction from west to east. They also reveal that he did not necessarily dismiss the cohabitation of different periods within the building.

Workers had already begun to remove plaster from interior surfaces in 1916, which had revealed some new information about the church's materiality. Guidotti noted that the nave piers, semicolumns, and pilasters against the perimeter walls were made of particular kinds of bricks: squared, coursed, and "of very accurate composition," different from those in the choir. A thin layer of plaster covered the base of the walls. The arcades, pilasters, ribs, and window moldings were without plaster, tinted red on the exposed brick, and articulated with white mortar beds. He described the "modest terracotta membranes" around the windows, the walls coated with plaster, "animated by the individual strips of the tidy ribs that rise vertically to meet in the center of the vaults and then fold back down." Plaster removal began in the pre-World War I phase when their project received approval, not to be

completed until work resumed in 1919. They had also begun tentative paint touchups to the “medieval polychrome designs” in the arcades of the sanctuary but to continue “would have required the hand of a specialist artisan.”

*Repristinated Interior: Plaster Removal, Painting & Twenty Tons of Bricks (1919-22)*

The records for payments made toward the restoration were normalized in 1919. Sporadic receipts and reports prior to 1919 indicate that some of the interior work was in progress by 1916, but there was a significant increase in documentation beginning in mid-1919, including cost summaries.

On June 17, 1919 the parish priest wanted to begin cleaning the decorative painting on the arcades around the sanctuary, adhering to the superintendent’s instructions. On June 23, Guidotti clarified that the specific request was to erect a scaffold for the painter Francesco Ghittoni, to continue the removal of plaster obscuring the painted decoration on the ribs. The superintendent approved on July 2. The work was done on July 9. They hoped to utilize the already-erected scaffold to then clean and restore the paintings. Ghittoni was also preparing a project for the walls of the sanctuary.

A scaffolding (*ponte a torre*) was unloaded and brought in by Bisotti in September 1920. In September, 1920, work had begun on the niche over the sacristy.

After the delivery of the brick samples on December 14, 1920, Guidotti wrote to the superintendent that the rectilinear sample for the octagonal piers was missing. There was, however, the sample for the bricks on the angles of the octagonal piers. On February 3, 1921, the Galotti company that had provided the samples delivered a wagon containing twenty tons of bricks to San Francesco, including 870 for round piers (*piloni tondi*), 994 for inside/central piers (*piloni mediani*), 500 for octagonal piers (*pilastrini ottagonali*), and 2,488 for “semicircular walls” (*pareti semi-circolari*).

On March 16, 1921, Guidotti appealed to the community for funds to complete the project begun in 1916. He addressed

all who are willing, to lovers of religion and art, to whoever holds dear the artistic glories of our city, inviting them to contribute to this work, whoever wants to give back to Piacenza a jewel, a distinguished monument to the faith and to the munificence of our forefathers, who with far fewer means than ours, built almost simultaneously the three most grandiose buildings of the city: the Cathedral, San Francesco, and the Palazzo Gotico.



He cited rising costs after the war, and their continued inability to come to an agreement with the shop owners along the north side of the church, and the owner of a house behind the apse. He recounted that they began the planned restorations on the interior, which “every day had uncovered new artistic beauties of the church that unfortunately were partially ruined by insipient additions and superimpositions.” They lacked the funds to restore what they uncovered. He reported some of the costs, stating that the windows alone, the stained glass in the apse and the lattice windows in the transept would altogether cost over 50,000 lire, each stained glass window costing more than 5,000 lire each. Some had already made donations, whom the committee thanked, and they prayed that others “respond with equal generosity to the call.” The donors would be remembered in a plaque.

In June of 1921, Guidotti submitted a report to the superintendent about problems with the pier at D3. In the process of removing the plaster that had been inadvisably applied to the nave piers in the previous centuries, they had revealed significant damage inflicted on these piers to the detriment of their surface and their structure. The worst-damaged pier was D3. Having removed the plaster, they discovered a multitude of small vertical cracks along the side facing the nave. The cracks originated from two short, wide gashes, which had been tamped up with bricks. The gash on the right was 25 cm high, corresponding to three brick courses. The gash on the left, 15 cm high, corresponding to two courses. The gashes were probably the location of shelves later walled up. Their removal concentrated the thrust of the vault in the remainder of the pier, fracturing its core. The cracks did not reach as high as the capital, and there were no visible cracks or movement on the wall above. They eliminated the gashes, and reconstructed the entire original pier. They monitored the cracks, which moved slightly during the work, but had since calmed down. He was still concerned about the static situation inside the pier, advising precautionary measures to strengthen it with iron rings, bolted vertically along the generating lines, where the corners of the pilasters and the arcades above have their thrust.

In October, 1921, the Opera also submitted a report to the superintendent of work that remained to be done. The majority of the specific works listed were the glass and shutters for the windows, however there were still substantial amounts needed for the

construction firm and wall work on the interior. The payments to the construction firm for the work done in 1921 and 1922 is less well-defined than it had been in 1919 and 1920. Perhaps because they were responsible for installing all the individual parts supplied by individual craftspeople, or that they continued on work removing plaster and installing the 5,000 bricks supplied by the Galotti firm at the end of 1920. The construction work continued at least through 1922, however the accounts were not settled with Bisotti's construction firm for work in 1922 until early 1924. In May of 1923, the restoration committee informed the superintendent that construction on the interior of the church was finished.<sup>167</sup>

### *Stained-Glass Windows: Medieval Ambience (1921-1924)*

In a letter to the superintendent on March 21, 1921 Guidotti referred to an earlier letter from November of 1916, in which he had expressed his concern about the windows. Wanting to darken the interior, since "too much bold light minimized the necessary mystical, tranquil, and severe countenance," he would examine whether the windows had originally been closed with wooden screens, perforated by small round openings as at San Francesco in Bologna. The presence of such a screen in the apse supported his hypothesis. Returning to the question in 1921, he knew that stained glass windows would achieve the desired effect, but was inadvisable, both for the humility of Franciscan churches, and the available financial resources of the restoration committee. He hypothesized that they might have originally been closed with brick latticework, punctuated by small round openings as at San Francesco in Bologna. He had discovered in the transept that a small oculus had been closed by a blown-glass roundel, 20 cm in diameter, fastened directly to the molding with gypsum. However, the nave windows only had 10 cm of space between the interior and exterior moldings, insufficient for that type of frame. Moreover, the moldings were "of respectable craft to be preserved in their graceful appearance." There were hinges on the interior jambs of some of the windows, but applied shutters would be difficult to open and close. Taking all of these factors into consideration, wooden lattices seemed to offer the solution, thin

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<sup>167</sup> Letter from the Committee for the Restorations to the Superintendent, 1923. Ibid. Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e per il Paesaggio,

enough to leave the contours of the moldings visible. His design consisted of a closure furnished with six fasteners, four to fasten the lattices in the curve of the opening, and two mobile ones to be applied to the hinges, allowing their removal if needed. The shutters would be perforated by thirty small round openings in homage to the formula of the Franciscan architects—that is, the total number is a multiple of the width. To these holes, slightly splayed and raised, would be applied Murano-blown-glass roundels, not white, but with a slightly darkened tint, identical to the roundel found in the window of the transept.

Upon submission of the March 1922 report, restorations on the interior of the nave were not yet finished. They still needed to complete the wooden screens for the nave windows, and the stained glass for the transept and the ambulatory. On March 13, 1922, the Murano glass roundels were installed. All that remained as of May 6, 1923 were the stained-glass windows by Quentin from Florence to be installed in the ambulatory chapels. A note accompanying the account summary of April 15, 1924 indicated that the ambulatory windows facing the property of the Veneziani had not yet been opened due to opposition from the neighbors, but they were hoping to be able to come to an amicable agreement, and to thus begin again to install them. The last records from Guidotti's tenure were payments to carpenters for the wooden shutters and small façade doors, to the iron lattice craftsman, and to the sculptor Carlo Strinati, who was paid 1,700 lire on January 6, 1924 for the new stone altar with six colonettes.

## 5.7 Historicism & Rationalism in the Era of Fascism

The campaigns of the next set of restoration architects, Giulio Ulisse Arata and Giovanni Gazzola, are bracketed by the years of the fascist government in Italy (1922-1944). Within the central administration of the Ministry of Public Instruction in the 1920s (Appendix M-a), there was considerable attention given to the hierarchy of the arts, with divisions occurring in 1927 and 1937 (Appendix M-b). In 1929, the Ministry of Public Instruction became the Ministry of National Education, and its administrative organization remained relatively stable until the postwar period, with increased administrative divisions to the arts in 1939 and again in 1940 (Appendix M-c). The introduction of the Division for the Defense of Artistic Heritage in Case of War is notable.

## RESTORATIONS UNDER GIOVANNI GAZZOLA & GIULIO ULISSE ARATA (1924-1943)

In 1924, the professor Luigi Corsini was superintendent of Emilia-Romagna. The architect Giulio Ulisse Arata headed Piacenza's Conservation Commission as early as 1927, and worked on the building's restorations led by the engineer, Giovanni Gazzola. The restorers of the 1920s-40s were less preoccupied with "uncovering the real," instead privileging their perceptions of an "absolute" aesthetic taste. There was also a significant shift in the strategic lines of alliance between the decision-making bodies. When Perreau and Guidotti were in charge, they frequently clashed with the superintendent's office, which tended to keep their more drastic desires in check, instead favoring a milder historicism. In this later period, the engineers and architects were more squarely allied with or even employed directly by the superintendent, and their conflicts tended to be with the parish (Opera parrocchiale), which had less control over what were increasingly seen as *national* monuments. Corsini, Arata, and Gazzola were still pursuing a perceived historic authenticity beneath later incrustations; however, with the architects and bureaucrats aligned, the Opera did not present a viable impediment to their extensive reimaginings. During this phase, restorations included the demolition of the majority of the remaining conventual buildings, as well as several lateral chapels and botteghe. The restorations to San Francesco were part of a larger redesign of the Piazza Cavalli, the plan of which

Reflected the two different lines of fascist-period town planning—to lighten the urban fabric by demolishing buildings without artistic value in order to show off the more important monuments, and improve circulation and hygiene, or to build a new town parallel to the old town suitably restored.<sup>168</sup>

In 1932, a competition was held to produce such a plan for Piacenza, with a final project defined in 1933, including the isolation of San Francesco by eliminating unimportant buildings. Between 1934 and 1937, they demolished all the remaining buildings to the south of the church, just beyond which sit two large buildings from that era.

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<sup>168</sup> Spigaroli, *Piacenza: La città e le piazze*, 322.

### *Exterior Isolation on the North & South Sides (1924-1927)*

On November 14, 1924, Superintendent Corsini wrote to the President of the Opera, expressing his satisfaction at finally seeing the demolition of a part of the substructures attached to the north side of the church. He was particularly happy that the work had revealed the beautiful doors previously hidden. He expressed his desire and prayer that the Opera would continue the work, which would certainly be enjoyed by the people of the city and by lovers of art. Corsini's letter illustrates the beginning of the new phase.

In 1927, plans were underway to demolish three of the shops along the north side of the church, in order to open up an entrance along the north side of the church. On April 25, 1927, the Head Engineer from the Technical Office of Piacenza wrote to the Superintendent concerning the restoration of the door along the north side of the church. The author noted that the door discovered there during the execution of other works had been original. He wrote to recommend the opening, because it "would not only enhance the solemnity and artistic contribution to the church, but will also be useful for the lightening of the crowd that will be particularly numerous for the grandiose [upcoming Franciscan] feasts." He continued that it would be necessary to demolish the shops at 19, 21, and 23 Via XX Settembre in order to restore the door.<sup>169</sup> The next day, the podestà of the commune wrote to reiterate the same sentiment.<sup>170</sup> On May 17, 1927, the Superintendent responded to not only approve but to "applaud these demolitions, voting that the other shops along the same side should also be demolished with the aim of freeing that whole side of the church of superstructures."<sup>171</sup>

Corsini's letter as well as the opinions expressed by the podestà and Piacenza's technical engineer attest to the greater agency of the bureaucratic forces over the restoration process. They integrated their opinions into the church's liturgical calendar.

Meanwhile, work was also in progress to isolate the church on the south side. In 1925, a fresco was discovered during the demolition of houses attached to the southern side of the church. The fresco was enclosed in a brick arcade. Most of the figures had been destroyed in

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<sup>169</sup> Correspondence, 1927. San Francesco in Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e per il paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma.

<sup>170</sup> Demolition of three little shops attached to the church of San Francesco, *ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> Letter to the Opera, *ibid.*

the lower half but the principle figures were conserved in the upper half. A figure of Christ the Redeemer was painted “according to an iconographical type in use by the Orientals.” He compared the figure of the Redeemer to one in a miniature of the *Liber Sacramentorum* in the Cathedral archive from the thirteenth century and recalled the stylized figures of the Parma Baptistery, at the same time, the figure shows the height of Byzantine influence. Byzantine art had penetrated everywhere also because we did not yet possess our own art. he noted that Piacentine merchants had citizenship and very frequent commercial relations with Byzantium as well.

The arcade over the fresco was dated 1300. The newspaper reporter noted that it was a “Gothic inscription” around the arch in which the words “Petronus obit anno Domini MCCC” were written. Unfortunately he does not describe its location beyond that it was where the houses attached to the south side of the church had been demolished. On January 5, 1926, the Superintendent wrote to the Opera indicating payment arrangements for the fresco’s removal.

As early as 1927, a desire had been expressed to install a covered market in the piazza along the south side of the church, “where the filthy houses and Tinelli stalls were demolished.”<sup>172</sup> On October 26 of that year, the President of the Opera had written to Superintendent Corsini about popular desire for the market. He explained that when the demolitions isolated the church, the administration of the Opera had been “

In recent days, there is talk about the construction of a covered market in the piazza next to and along the south side of San Francesco, where the filthy houses and the Tinelli stalls were demolished. When the demolitions made the isolation of the church possible, the administration of the Opera was pervaded by the highest idealism, such that today to that same administration, it seems vulgar to construct a market there, and it fears that the contrast between the two constructions, the antique and the modern, will be too jarring. On the other hand, the Opera wants the space cleaned up, and does not want to demonstrate itself even minimally against projects that the Superior Authority will have certainly studied well in harmony with the major decoration of our church. In our Administration, the vision of the isolated church always permeates, and therefore there is the doubt that the new constructions, even though built at an appropriate distance and in a not indecent style next to the church, puts the original project, of so many studies, the fruit of so many hopes, and that for which already so much money was spent, farther off. The administration thought it best to appeal to the Superintendent, not to be indifferent, and thus has faith that the Superintendent would show an interest and at the same time offer advice to the administration authoring this letter, on the procedure to follow, with the aim of the best possible outcome for that desired by all.

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<sup>172</sup> New constructions around the church, Letter to Professor Luigi Corsini, Superintendent of Emilia-Romagna, *ibid.* Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e del paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza,

All of other buildings of the former convent pictured in the images from the 1920s were demolished in a campaign during those years with the ultimate goal of turning the area into a piazza.

It was also during that campaign that they were able to clear the buildings from the area south of the church (image 9). The other explanation offered by the plan also regards the fate of the conventual buildings after the suppression. An Italian scholar and architect in the 1980s, Livia Bertelli, suggested in various instances that the convent existed into the middle of the twentieth century, demolished in one of the restoration projects of the 1930s.

### *Repristinated Interior: Windows & Chapels (1926-1931)*

Between 1926 and 1929, a stained-glass window was opened on the north perimeter wall, involving wall demolition, the refacing of the jambs, installation of the frame, the grate and stained glass, five stained-glass windows were installed in the ambulatory chapels, following reconstruction of the exterior walls of the chapels including filling in gaps and out of fashion circular windows (*fuori disegno*), the placement of the shoulders of the windows with specially shaped bricks, insertion of the grate frames and stained glass, and windows were opened on the south perimeter wall in the westernmost bay, with the application of the glass and the stone work for the defense of the new openings from the contiguous constructions, while awaiting the completion of the isolation on the south side.<sup>173</sup> The cost of the wall work, including painting, labor and materials was 20,000 lire; the iron and wood work for the window grates and frames was 2,500 lire; the decorative work, including the stained-glass windows, and the iron frames completed by the agency of F. Quentin of Florence was 20,000 lire. The expenses for assistance and direction were 1,200 lire, reaching a total of 43,900 lire as of the report on August 20, 1931 by the Committee for the Restorations to the monumental church of San Francesco (Gazzola) submitted to the Superintendent.

The Conservation Commission asked the architect Sigismondo Martini of Milan to install a monument to fallen soldiers in the chapel of the Addolorata in 1931. Martini's first

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<sup>173</sup> Liquidazione - Riassunto, 1931. Ibid. Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e per il paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza,

submission was a neogothic altar, which the Commission rejected. On July 10, 1931, Arata, who was the director of the Commission, reacted, “that awful Gothic in horrible taste, planned and replanned, seems to me a horror.” Martini produced a second plan, with a rationalist classicizing altar panel and a single black marble athletic figure. In this era, rationalism and historicism each had their place.

On May 27, 1931, the Conservation Commission of Piacenza, headed by Arata, made two changes to the rose window plan: to change the form of the capitals, unifying them to those existing on the Palazzo del Comune (il Gotico) and to substitute the four cylindrical columns of the crossing with octagonal ones as in the current rose. On June 24, Gazzola appealed the Superintendent’s rejection of the rose window capitals, since Guidotti had also employed the sculptor Strinati, and because he was knowledgeable in the architectonic details of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He affirmed that the capital submitted could be found in the Duomo on both the interior and exterior, as well as in the Palazzo Gotico. He hoped not to have to redo the sixteen capitals because they would not be able to afford it. During the months of July and August, the capitals were made for the new rose windows, that a sculptor named Strinati had made based on a mold made from a capital on the southeast window of the Palazzo Gotico. They planned to use eight of the old capitals and eight new ones. Additionally, the Provost of the parish was anxious to remove the clutter from the façade such that the work of the new patina and the completion of the window with glass. On August 13, 1931, Gazzola indicated to Superintendent Corsini that work was planned for the completion of the rose window on the façade, as discussed with Architect Capezzuoli from the Superintendent’s office. Work on the capitals on the rose window would resume on Monday as indicated by Capezzuoli. Gazzola requested that the Superintendent himself visit, preferably before the application of the patina, for the “rational fusion of the old and new terracotta of the façade.” Gazzola’s report indicates both that he is covering up the difference between old and new, and that, in contrast with behavior among earlier restorers, he was intentionally seeking the superintendent’s approval before engaging in the work.



### *Eliminating the Convent South of the Church (1932-1939)*

On May 25, 1932, a letter established that the area between Via Sopramuro and the church was currently being cleared. As a result of whatever action was already underway, the author of the letter suggested the sale of a room above a horsemeat market to the commune so that the whole building could be demolished, and the façade of the rectory facing the new piazza could be restored by the commune.<sup>174</sup> By September 10, 1932, the head engineer Giovanni Gazzola had established an official plan for the piazza and the restoration of the southwest side of the church. Citing a meeting of the previous June 22 at San Francesco, Gazzola referred to an agreement of the Superintendent and other members of the Communal Technical Office to the plan to deal with the group of latrines serving the sacristy, and for work cleaning up and restoring the church's entrance portico, while the Superintendent had declared his disinterest concerning a cleaning up of the rectory and the attached prebend buildings. The principal theme of the meeting had been the restoration plan for the south perimeter wall of the church, that faced the area recently cleared and occupied by the commune, with the intention of creating a new piazza bounded by the church, the portico of the rectory, the Via Sopramuro and the new palazzo under construction in the Piazza Cavalli. The intention of the intervening local authorities had been expressed by the Engineer Sandro Cella and the parish priest, who wanted the south side of the church completely cleared of all superstructures, Gazzola clarified that it meant a "truly radical restoration was in order." Gazzola acknowledged that the Superintendent had expressed some reservations about the destruction of the chapel of the Immacolata, and had requested a report establishing the present state of the buildings under consideration and the complete plan, reserving the right to make changes after examination of the plan and conferring with the Central Office. Following up the meeting, Gazzola was thus providing the complete plan of restorations requested, including photographs by the Engineer Cella exhibiting the present state of the building, the restoration ground plan and elevation. In addition to the drawings and the photographs, Gazzola explained a few key points about the lowering of the piazza for the drainage and aeration of the church, the installation of a

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<sup>174</sup> Correspondence, 1932. Ibid.

staircase to the piazza in front of the church, and the installation of a sidewalk around the market and its eventual enclosure with a gate, to protect the zone against carriages and animals, and as an impediment to “any bad use.” Finally, the portico of the rectory required restoration on the side closest to the church below the campanile for the protection of the entrance to the church for the public access along the covered portico.<sup>175</sup>

A letter from September 3, 1937 attested to the discovery of fifteenth-century frescoes, found during the demolition of the buildings adjacent to the church, for the arrangement of the Piazza Cavalli. The frescoes included a family tree of the Franciscan Order, of the Emilian School of the fifteenth century, interesting local art. The letter expressed the necessity of removing them to guarantee their conservation in light of the demolitions going on nearby. The Opera requested the superintendent for authorization to move them at their own expense, sending the one fresco of the Madonna and Child to the restorer Carlo Montefiore. The other frescoes included Francis receiving the Stigmata and Urban V. On September 20, 1938, the Podestà assured the Ufficio that the Palazzo of the INFPS (Istituto Nazionale Fascista della Previdenza Sociale) would not be closer than five meters to San Francesco. On July 5, 1939, the president of the Fabbriceria, M. Manzini summarized that “more than a true and proper restoration, we are dealing with stripping the church, situated in a piazza that constitutes the characteristic center of the city of Piacenza, of all the superstructures that in the past centuries were added onto it.”

### *Implantation of the Portal from Sant'Andrea on the North Side (1939-40)*

On January 19, 1939, the Inspector of Monuments wrote to the Superintendent informing him that the parish priest of San Francesco, Monseigneur Caccialanza had informed him that there was a strong probability that some of the botteghe on the north side of the church would finally be demolished under the direction of the commune who was the current owner. The inspector expressed his joy that they would finally be eliminating a secular defilement of the magnificent church's architecture. The project would involve reworking of the bay, including the removal of the door now open to the church between the

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<sup>175</sup> Basilica di San Francesco Project of Restoration on the Southwest Side, 1932. San Francesco di Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e per il paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma.

two shops. The parish priest had hired the architect Arata, who would demolish it partially according to a previous project by Guidotti, of which the Inspector believed the Ufficio had a copy. On July 5, 1939, the president of the Fabbriceria, M. Manzini, wrote a brief report to the Superintendent about the restorations being completed by Arata. Not shockingly, the plan included the elimination of all of the botteghe between the buttresses on the north side of the church, which would be cleaned and “resanitized” to constitute once again the structure of the building. He also addressed the plan to substitute the current door “that has no definable style” with the old portal from the closed church of Sant’Andrea. He hastened to add that although the portal was from an earlier period, that it would “not constitute a falsification in an archaeological sense, because there would be a nearby inscription that will record the transposition.”<sup>176</sup> On February 29, 1940, the Ministry of National Education indicated in a letter to the Superintendent that the translation of the portal from the church of Sant’Andrea to the north side of the church should be commemorated with an appropriate plaque.<sup>177</sup> On August 3, 1940, *La Scure*, Piacenza’s Fascist newspaper reported on the removal of two of the botteghe on the north wall, as well as the insertion of the twelfth-century portal of Sant’Andrea.<sup>178</sup> On August 6, the monument inspector, Emilio Nasalli Rocca, wrote to the Superintendent in Bologna that the installation of the portal was complete and had been done well.<sup>179</sup>

### *Continued Restorations (1940-1943)*

In 1940, the Ministry of National Education approved the project of isolation of the church, seeing that the project would return to the monument its “pristine decorum.” The chapel of the Addolorata was the last to be destroyed, in the early 1940s. On August 6, 1940, the monument inspector had advised the Superintendent that a project was underway to

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<sup>176</sup> Brief explanatory report on the project of maintenance and restoration completed by Architect Giulio Arata to the Superintendent of Medieval and Modern Art, Bologna, 1939. San Francesco in Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e per il paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma.

<sup>177</sup> Letter to the Superintendent of Monuments, Bologna, 1940. Ibid. Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e del paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza,

<sup>178</sup> “La Chiesa di San Francesco e le opere di ripristino,” *La Scure: quotidiano Fascista di Piacenza*, August 3, 1940 1940.

<sup>179</sup> Correspondence, 1940. San Francesco in Piacenza. Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e per il paesaggio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma.

demolish the chapel of the Malosso, but was yet to be decided.<sup>180</sup> On December 5, 1941, it was clear that there was no longer a plan to demolish the Chapel of the Immacolata (or Malosso), and instead the parish priest wrote to the Superintendent to request funds to restore its frescoes. The priest's report included a summary of the recently completed work by Arata, including a reference to the project's approval in 1937 by the Superior Direction of Fine Arts, and the total cost of 2 million lire (US\$(1941) 100,000, US\$(2011) 2,820,000). The work included the portal on the north side, the restoration of an apse chapel, moving a deposition, opening original windows, demolishing the upper story of a house on the north side of the east end, as well as latrines along the northeast, the installation of eleven stained-glass windows in place of those destroyed or deteriorated from the beginning of the war. They were currently working to transport the organ to liberate the south transept in order to reopen the original windows. He singled out the remaining need to restore the structural damage to the chapel, where large cracks were visible where the lateral walls of the chapel were separating from the exterior pilasters of the basilica. Cracks were also visible across the cupola in a long horizontal line and in the cornices in vertical and oblique lines. He appealed to the authorities of the necessity of the restoration for the aesthetic of the city center. The chapel faced the newly created piazza, so it was therefore exposed to public scrutiny.<sup>181</sup> On December 18, 1941, the Ministry of National Education wrote that they did not have the funds to contribute to the costs of restoration at San Francesco. A note from 1943 established that repairs on the chapel were underway.

D. Medina Lasansky has convincingly demonstrated how the Fascist regime intentionally popularized Italian historic sites through their crisp propaganda machine.<sup>182</sup> However, by the period covered by Lasansky in detail, the historical language and the grammar of its expression had already been established. The typologies had been created, the national identities had been fixed and these structures already defined the disciplinary terms. In fact, the more successfully pervasive campaign to popularize Italy's historical past by Mussolini elided the differences between that campaign and those of the previous 100 years

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Indication of the urgency of a partial restoration, 1941. Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Lasansky, *Renaissance Perfected*.

for many historians of the Middle Ages to come. The nineteenth- and early-twentieth century nationalisms had had a foundational interplay with medieval art history, in Italy and abroad. The discipline provided a network on which the infinite reproducibility of the medieval grammar could thrive and perpetuate itself. After World War II when the fascist propaganda machine had been discredited, the more empirical disciplinary structures of medieval architectural history at its nineteenth-century origin were reinforced and perpetuated. Mussolini's more popular model did not penetrate the disciplinary structure, except to lay bare the field of the unreal and reignite the search for the real under the fake.

## CONCLUSION

### *The Museum & the Simulacrum*

One of the central theoretical givens that the history of these restorations challenges is that the success of bureaucratic control and the success of the doctrine of historic preservation are one and the same. Italy had achieved varying levels of bureaucratic control by very early in the nation-state's existence, but it was not until the Postwar period and particularly after the 1963 Charter of Venice that historic preservation in its contemporary guise was promoted by those state institutions.

From an early date, individual enthusiasm for historicism was routed and mediated through regional and national bureaucratic channels. This mediation is well documented in the restoration records for San Francesco. Every minute desire of the restorers and the municipality, from attaching electric lights to the church exterior to demolishing chapels deemed unsuitable, had to run a bureaucratic gauntlet. The obstacles presented by the bureaucracy frustrated many of the restorers' wishes, proved by the survival of almost all of the botteghe on the north wall of the church along the Via XX settembre, despite a constant desire to remove them. While many of their goals were realized, including the demolition of several side chapels, pulpits, and other Baroque additions, the records show that they were kept in constant check.

Buildings would not belong to the ideal scientific realm until later in the twentieth century. The concept of preservation itself transformed monuments into museums of their past. Buildings were to be preserved before all else, frozen in time, and not to be disturbed. The restorations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are to be disavowed and held up as bad examples.

### The Monument as Museum of Accumulating Time

In his classic essay, "Of Other Spaces," Foucault described the heterotopia of the museum and the library—the "heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time":

the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an

immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity. The museum and the library are heterotopias that are proper to western culture of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Foucault's museum of accumulating time describes contemporary attitudes regarding historic preservation. Despite the fact that Foucault places these heterotopias in the nineteenth century, they more aptly define the hyper-scientific realm of the late twentieth century than the wild cornucopia of ideas clashing with each other in the nineteenth. We can easily find examples of the tendency toward historic preservation in the nineteenth century in figures like Ruskin, and so a teleology is born, allowing the disavowal of everything else going on as "ruthless."

Historic preservation is a process of museumization: freezing the building in time immediately sets the clock of the accumulation of time by cutting it off from any intervention that could interfere with its temporality. On the other hand, historicizing restorations also produce a museum where the monument has been reset to a desired moment at which to *simulate* the beginning of its accumulation. The semiotically destabilized church could be monumentalized equally well through processes of historic preservation, historicizing restorations, or any number of other approaches. When Gothic historicism went out of fashion in the 1920s, for example, the national monuments of medieval churches were also acceptable loci for rationalist reimagining, favoring neither the museum nor the simulacrum.

The issue is partially a semantic and linguistic one. In architectural dictionaries, the definition of restoration is

The treatment of an old building to recover its prior or 'original' conditions by removing later accretions (such as Baroque additions to Gothic churches or Gothic additions to Romanesque churches), by recreating elements believed to have been lost and by reworking weathered surfaces. It is to be distinguished from historic preservation.

While the word "restoration" in English can signify any kind of building repairs, it is also the primary term to mean "to bring back to a former, pristine state."<sup>2</sup> The variation "restauration" came from Anglo-Norman and Middle French, but the post-classical Latin root, "restauration-, restauratio" referred to the repair of a building as early as the seventh

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<sup>1</sup> Foucault, "Of Other Spaces."26

<sup>2</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "restoration," Third Edition March 2010

century.<sup>3</sup> The Italian language also makes use of the word “repristino,” in addition to “restauro.”<sup>4</sup> English has the word “repristinate,” but it is uncommon. Both languages utilize notions of “over-restoration.” Both languages also use the term “restoration” or “restauro” to signify “appropriate restoration,” meaning the amount of restoration deemed acceptable according to current norms. The concept of over-restoration can be found in the works of John Ruskin and E. M. Forster, dictionary definitions in both languages, and scholarship in both languages. The subtle shift in connotation between Byron in 1824 and Ruskin in 1852 is revealing. Byron wrote:

A plan whereby to erect New buildings...And throw down old, which he called restoration.<sup>5</sup>

There are many fascinating things about Byron’s definition of restoration. He does not mention repair, but the destruction of old buildings. The construction of new buildings is the definition of restoration. Ruskin’s usage in 1852 is more familiar: “Under the name of ‘restoration’ the ruin of the noblest architecture and painting is constant throughout Europe.”<sup>6</sup> Finally Forster in 1910: “The cathedral had been ruined, absolutely ruined, by restoration; not an inch left of the original structure.”<sup>7</sup> Once the preoccupation with accumulating the past had taken root, restoration became a bad word. It used to mean rebuilding an old building, or one in disrepair, or returning it to its former state, but the preoccupation with authenticity butting up against the historicist turn in architecture led to the bizarre confluence of events in which two different dedications to history clashed at the site of medieval churches.

When the practice of monumentalization through historicizing restorations was still very popular in Italy, historicism and the restorations it produced had gone out of fashion in Germany, England, and France. Ruskin was a particularly vocal critic in the fight against historicizing restorations—to him, the main scourge faced by historic buildings. The rejection of historicizing restorations as “provincial” is related to the subjugating historiographical processes described in the introduction. The hierarchical relations between

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<sup>3</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “restauration,” Third Edition March 2010

<sup>4</sup> Garzanti Linguistica, s.v. “restauro,” [www.garzantilinguistica.it](http://www.garzantilinguistica.it)

<sup>5</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “restoration”

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*



restoration theories is yet another iteration in the synecdochic othering of the south, added to those in the areas of medieval art and architecture and their historiographies. In the same generic entry for “restoration” in the Penguin Dictionary of Architecture, Pevsner relates the episode of the 1877 Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), “inspired” by Ruskin. SPAB took on the cause of “support[ing] Venetians in their campaign to halt the restoration of S. Marco, Venice.” The entry goes on to attribute Boito’s contributions to the national effort to pass legislation in 1883 to these English activists, rather than the actual historical circumstances of the first decades after unification.<sup>8</sup> Pevsner has repeated their condescension by rewriting the history of Italian architecture to be predicated on their meddling. The episode of the English activists saving the Italian restorers from themselves, as well as Ruskin’s and Forster’s comments about over-restoration suggest the long history of Anglophone historians of Italian architecture positing not only the superiority of the medieval architecture elsewhere but even the superiority of their contemporary practices over contemporary Italian ones.

## LIVIA BERTELLI

The position of empirical superiority has proved so pervasive that it is fully subsumed within the Italian academy, the scholars of which have disavowed much of their recent past, or tend to describe it primarily as “fake.” For the recent Italian scholar and architect Livia Bertelli, the details of Franciscan buildings in Emilia were “false.”<sup>9</sup> Instead, these buildings were the arena for the “academic exercises of the architect restorers, who made it difficult to tell the original parts from those produced by the culture of the restorations of the last 150 years.”<sup>10</sup> Here Bertelli defined her issue with these restorations: the blurred distinction of the “real” from the “fake.” She repeatedly characterized the restorers as “provincial,” and the region of Emilia as particularly heavy-handed in comparison with the rest of Italy. Less critical of the various national theories of restoration, she argued that what was actually carried out had little to do with them. She ventured that they

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<sup>8</sup> Dictionary of Architecture, s.v. “Restoration”

<sup>9</sup> Livia Bertelli, “Riuso, restauro, conservazione. I complessi francescani di Parma, Bologna, Piacenza, Bobbio,” *Storia della Città* 26-27, no. I Francescani in Emilia (1983): 177.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

demonstrated a provincial interpretation of Viollet-le-Duc, rather than some of the more “moderate and modern theories” of Italy and Austria. She decried the loosely theoretical provincialism sanctioned by the Conservation Commission and the superintendents.<sup>11</sup> She attributed the undesirable result to “provincial theories when the dominant culture of the time could have done better if they had been paying attention to the contemporary debates.”<sup>12</sup> The preceding account of the extensive involvement of the regional and national bureaucracy should make the spurious nature of her comment clear. Her condescension of “provincial” architects, theories, and restorations reflects only the nth iteration of a theme extending back to the eighteenth-century subjugation of southern Europe.

Bertelli was concerned in particular with the destruction of artistic context as a result of the demolition and relocation of datable elements that could have assisted in dating the building. Her anxiety recalls Willibald Sauerländer’s concern about the reduction in meaning and message when Romanesque sculpture is not viewed within its architectural context and moved to a museum.<sup>13</sup> For both of these authors, the authenticity of the architectural museum depends on locational veracity. However, the documentation of the restorations has demonstrated the extreme surveillance of the institutions to guard against “over-restoration.” Even Bertelli, in an example from Bologna, noted the Ufficio’s intervention to save some of the chapels out of an explicit desire to preserve their historical context. Bertelli dismissed such interventions as too few and far between, and incredulously reported the favor of the nude piazza and uncontrolled demolitions lasting “until very recent memory.”<sup>14</sup> Bertelli, like Dalla Negra, lamented the inefficiency of governmental control—both scholars unable to imagine a situation in which the government was in control and made decisions not in accordance with the doctrine of historic preservation. She concluded that “the massive restorations that these buildings underwent has completely diminished their original historic significance, enriching them of valences that belong exclusively to the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 190.

<sup>13</sup> Willibald Sauerländer, “Romanesque Sculpture and Its Architectural Context,” in *The Romanesque Frieze and Its Spectator: The Lincoln Symposium Papers*, ed. Deborah Kahn (London: Harvey Miller, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> Bertelli, “Riuso, restauro, conservazione. I complessi francescani di Parma, Bologna, Piacenza, Bobbio,” 182.

architectonic culture of the ottocento and the first half of the novecento,” unironically conflating the loss of significance with their more historically recent assignment.

Bertelli was unselfconscious of the ways in which she was replicating the sentiments of the very people she was criticizing. In her discussion of Alfonso Rubbiani, the well-known restorer of Bologna, and the church of San Francesco there, she quoted him as a specific example of the provincial mentality institutionalized by the bureaucracy:

To restore is never to accept the work of art as it is; but it is to force a ‘masked’ reality; it is the re-establishment of an ideal (*ideale ripristino*), recuperation of an image, stylistic adaptation. This is done by performing a *historic selection, privileging that which is alleged to be the oldest, over the most recent* (my emphasis).<sup>15</sup>

Like Rubbiani, Bertelli privileged the old over the new. Bertelli’s attitude is common among scholars of medieval and neomedieval architecture alike. The criticism of the neomedieval creation of “false” architecture is pervasive among both groups. While for the medievalists, the critique is of the destruction of the “real,” discussions centered on the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries critique the creation of “false” architectures toward the creation of an equally false national identity. In both of these operations, an obscured “true” history is implied: the medieval scholar is concerned with material authenticity, the neomedieval with cultural authenticity.

## BERTELLI ON THE HISTORY OF RESTORATIONS AT SAN FRANCESCO

Bertelli revived the tradition of writing a history of the earlier restorations while supervising the current campaign.<sup>16</sup> She narrated a teleology of the previous restorations, where the ultimate goal was denuding the church. Emmanuelli’s restorations represented a rosy, unsullied period of “maintenance” rather than restoration, followed by the era of the “grand technical and theoretical people of the restorations under control of the Ufficio Regionale.”<sup>17</sup> Bertelli marked the beginning of this second phase with a definitive event: the destruction of the pulpit on the pier at B4 in 1885. She described the work of the second phase as more drastic and irreversible, “rendering it as it could have been according to their architectonic hypotheses.” She exaggerated for narrative benefit, or willfully misconstrued

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<sup>15</sup> Quoted in: *ibid.*, 180.

<sup>16</sup> “San Francesco.”; “Riuso, restauro, conservazione. I complessi francescani di Parma, Bologna, Piacenza, Bobbio.”

<sup>17</sup> “Riuso, restauro, conservazione. I complessi francescani di Parma, Bologna, Piacenza, Bobbio,” 187.

certain statements. In support of her claim that the 1885 destruction of the Baroque altar at B4 marked the beginning of a new phase of restorations, she misquoted Guidotti's statement about the "immodest and immoral" botteghe, suggesting he called Baroque immoral, whereas he had called it strange and bizarre.<sup>18</sup> She also marked Perreau's campaign as the first to tamper with the convent, despite Emmanuelli's full description of the work to open up the portico to the Via Sopramuro, as well as his conversion of part of the convent to a parochial house, and other sections of the portico into an archive. These omissions increase the distinctions between the periods of restorations, promoting the narrative effect of her teleology. She also conflated the work of both Perreaus, the first who died in 1892, the second who directed restorations at the turn of the twentieth century. She contrasted Emmanuelli's painting of the articulation of the church the color of stone, with Guidotti's brick-painted articulation, implying that Emmanuelli's was somehow more truthful, despite the fact that the construction material was brick. Since one of the great tropes of neomedieval restorations in Italy was the denuded brick wall, perhaps Guidotti's painting was more incriminating as evidence of his adherence to a popularly criticized aesthetic ideal.

However, even the apex of the "second phase" represented by Guidotti's interventions on the terracotta portal, the apse restoration and painting, and the 1920 niche were all "prudent compared with what was coming" in the restorations of Arata and Gazzola, whose plan included the elimination of all of the chapels along the south wall. Despite the fact that the plans of both Perreaus and Guidotti had had varying aversions to most, if not all the lateral chapels, Bertelli saw the new preference for rational, sleek forms carried to its extreme in the denuding of the sides of the church to create the piazza:

In fact, if the early projects of Perreau and Guidotti were aimed toward the liberation of the church from architectonic elements not pertaining to the Gothic phase, for an ideal stylistic reconstruction of a space in which the monument rises as the exclusive protagonist, now the planned demolitions were designed toward the construction of the

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<sup>18</sup> "San Francesco," 159. She quite literally misrepresented Guidotti's meaning. The quote as written in Guidotti, coming after a brief account of the few examples of the "strange art of the eighteenth century," regarded the *botteghe*: "Ma un altr'arte, *non solo bizzarra come il barocchismo*, ma immodesta e immorale, che, debitamente scoperta, le leggi civili avrebbero repressa, congiurava al guasto del bello, ed operava all'esterno del tempio cioè lungo la via Diritta (emphasis mine)." He then goes on to describe the botteghe. Bertelli quoted Guidotti as evidence of the period's elimination of the Baroque, "giacché barocco, (come scrive Guidotti in una sua pubblicazione sul S. Francesco piacentino, edita nel 1888) 'è un arte non solo bizzarra, ma immodesta e immorale, che, debitamente scoperta, le leggi civili avrebbero repressa.'" An understandable error, to be sure, but one that reveals a telling bias.

piazza, an urban space conceived with quite different criteria, in which the monument, no longer protagonist, becomes the simple backdrop and corollary to the new architecture of the regime.<sup>19</sup>

Bertelli's intolerance for both neomedieval restorations and the Fascist modifications was clear. Her position is emblematic of prevailing attitudes today. Even the adaptation of the nearby Franciscan church in Parma as a prison was preferable because with no aesthetic intentions, they left its medieval state alone—vastly preferable to fake.

Scholars like Bertelli reject what they call the “museumification” of monuments by the nineteenth- and twentieth-century restorers, which they define as the elimination of additions with the aim of returning the building to a former pristine state. Their rejection is ironic, since of course they advocate for a museum all the same, but the museum of accumulating time, not of the restored monument.

## The Historicist Simulacrum in the Era of the Code: Chronological Reassessment & Empiricism in the 1980s

The surge of interest in the age of historicism in the 1980s in Italy, historically contextualizing the restorers in their nationalist moment, coincides, however, with a different but related methodological attachment by the historians of medieval architecture. Where conservation theory strictly forbade the simulacrum from the historical site in favor of the museumification of accumulation engendered through historic preservation, the simulacrum has been translated into the positivist language of medieval architectural historiography. The historic preservationists won the battle for the “intramural” locus of history, so now the truth-finders are limited to models and books. The medievalists disavow the legitimacy of historicizing restorations alongside their peers who chronicle the Ottocento and Novecento, however they are still working out of the historicist tradition that produced those restorations and invented the simulacrum preserved and still actively produced by medieval historiographical scholarship. The historian works out of a tradition produced in the era of historicism, utilizing the same research methodology and the same ideology of truth. But now the onus to locate (produce) truth is even greater, armed with the

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 163.

archival arsenal preserved and catalogued by the scholars of the eighteenth through the twentieth century.

It is essential to this process that the historian disavow the legitimacy of the restorers because in so doing, they increase the validity of a true medieval church that the historicizing restorations covered up. In so doing, they disarm the restorations from any power to reveal a feared truth. Of the iconoclasts, Baudrillard wrote:

Their rage to destroy images rose precisely because they sensed this omnipotence of simulacra, this facility they have of effacing God from the consciousness of men, and the overwhelming, destructive truth which they suggest: that ultimately there has never been any God, that only the simulacrum exists, indeed that God himself has only ever been his own simulacrum. Had they been able to believe that images only occulted or masked the Platonic Idea of God, there would have been no reason to destroy them.<sup>20</sup>

Knowing this about iconoclasm, historians engage in the astute move of textually delegitimizing the restorations but leaving them in tact intramurally, now also to be included within the past that is to be accumulated by museumification. They will not repeat the historicists' error of the destruction of the Baroque by advocating for the removal of medievalizing restorations.

Appropriate to their era, the historians have changed the medium for the delivery of the simulacrum (restoration).<sup>21</sup> They produce a *simulation* of the true medieval church through texts and models (*simulation* because it "bears no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure *simulacrum*"). Their methodology converts the *dissimulation* produced by the historicizing restorations (dissimulation because it masked the basic reality that the medieval church did not exist) into *bad representations* (as though they merely mask the true medieval church that still exists underneath). The conversion of the restorations into "signs that dissimulate something" maintains the "theology of truth and secrecy." The text of the scholar or the reconstructed model has the aura of scholarly authenticity, which produces the simulation of a true reality that does exist somewhere else: in the past. This "panic-

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<sup>20</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations*, trans. Paul Foss, Paul Patton, and Philip Beitchman (New York: Semiotext[e], 1983), 8.

<sup>21</sup> Alongside the OED's definitions of "restoration" as returning something to a former (supposed) pristine state, is also the production of a drawing or model of that state.

stricken” production of truth disguises the fact that there is none.<sup>22</sup> The scholarship is the *simulacrum*.

The primacy of the medieval simulacrum, the location of the Albertian Gothic researched by their restorers, while promoted by restorers in the nineteenth and twentieth century, achieved its full form in the 1980s in the perfection of empirical architectural historiography that textually peeled back the layers of the restorations to finally reveal the real medieval church beneath. In this way, the disciplinary tasks were divided, with the simulacrum no longer the preserve of restoring architects, confined safely to textbooks, while the monument was tamed as a site for the accumulation of time, a museum of when it did more than signify “past.” In different ways, both projects are perfectly empirical and scientific. The historiography occupied with building chronology could completely eliminate the fake and locate the authentic medieval in a way that physical restorations could not, while the work of preservationists could seal the monument off from any further intrusions on its historical authenticity. With the scientific tasks thus divided, the theoretical project begun in the nineteenth century has been perfected. No longer occupied with locating and classifying ideal medieval forms, now scholars locate and classify the *real*.

The Italian scholarship on medieval buildings in the last few decades has overwhelmingly emphasized the scientific search for building chronology and construction practices. They have shunned plan typology and iconography as theoretical. The internal critiques of formal and iconographic typologies of mendicant architecture have been either for their insufficient attention to accurate dates or for assessing buildings only by their plans. By returning to documentary sources and analyses of construction, these scholars have produced more scientific accounts of the history of mendicant buildings. While most scholars express contempt at the medievalizing restorations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they nevertheless remain attached to the ideal moment of completion those restorers sought, while accusing them of obscuring that sought-after “real” medieval with the neomedieval. There is often an implicit or explicit charge that had only the restorers not disturbed anything, the medieval building could be more scientifically analyzed today. The

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<sup>22</sup> Baudrillard, *Simulations*, 12.

rhetoric of uncovering the original medieval structure, previously signifying the work of restorations, persists today in the revised pursuit to textually uncover the original from underneath those restorations.

The history of the restorations at San Francesco document the formation of cultural structures that continue to inform not only the discipline of medieval architectural history, but also the contemporary popular imagination of the “medieval” today. The historiography of medieval architecture is still consistently reinforced by the bureaucratic and disciplinary institutions and legal regulations that were established and codified in the fifty years following unification. The history of the restorations of medieval buildings and the historiographies of both restorations and medieval construction are thus dialectically constitutive.

By the time of Bertelli’s own restorations in the 1980s and 1990s, the church’s architecture was no longer the domain of a local medieval revival or the nationalist deployment of monuments as cultural past. Sporadic events filled the remainder of the 1940s through the 1970s, including the rejection of a plan to build a subterranean market under the piazza south of the church. In the 1960s a portal and windows in the fashion of a medieval chapter house were inserted on the façade of the sacristy lining the portico. A new parish priest, Don Giuseppe Boiardi, began to campaign for the restoration of the church in 1981 that Bertelli carried out between 1983-1993, completed by Franca Iole Pietrafitta from 1993-95, after Bertelli’s death. The building was now the domain of the historiographies of mendicant architectural typology, Gothic architecture in Italy, and their neomedieval restorations. Institutionally, the church remained under the auspices of the superintendent, where the restoration theory of the monument preserved frozen in time had won the definitive battle. The church had become a museum.



## Appendix A: Witnesses

Witness	Pages of Testimony	Occupation
Anonymous A	9 (fragment)	Unknown, but he is not a <i>murator</i>
Anonymous B	15-19	Unknown
Vincentius	19-24	<i>Presbiter, Minister Ecclesie Sancti Georii de Placentia</i>
Simon	24-29	<i>Presbiter, Minister Ecclesie Sancti Petri de Foro</i>
Canonus	30-34	<i>Presbiter ecclesie Sancti Gervasii Placentie</i>
Ubertus Reddemanus	34-37	<i>Clericus ecclesie sancti proptaxii</i>
Guillelmus de Vigolo	37-42	Canonicus Ecclesie Duodecim Apostolorum de Placentia
Antolinus	42-48	<i>Dominus</i>
Cumignanus	48-50	<i>magister</i>
<i>Dominus</i> Roffinus de Andito	50-53	<i>iudex</i>
Gerardus	53-59	<i>presbiter, rector et minister ecclesie sancti Yllarii placentie</i>
<i>Presbiter</i> Iacobus	59-65	<i>Presbiter Minister ecclesie Sancte Marie de Gerovaribus</i>
Rolandus Zumignanus	65-66	<i>magister</i>
Aço Medicus	66-71	<i>magister</i>
Iohannes de Christiana	71-74	<i>magister</i>
Iacobus de Berzano	74-75	<i>magister</i>
Albertus	75-79	<i>presbiter ecclesie sancti vincentii placentiae</i>
Iohannes Zanarellus	79-80	<i>visdominus Sancti Salvatoris Placentie</i>

## Appendix B: Pagination Chart

9	9	Begin Anonymous A
15	15	Begin Anonymous B
19	19	Begin <i>Presbiter</i> Vincentius
24	24	Begin <i>Presbiter</i> Simon
29	29	
30	29 <sup>bis</sup>	Begin <i>Presbiter</i> Canonus
31	30	
32	31	
33	32	
34	33	Begin <i>Clericus</i> Ubertus Reddemanus
35	34	A page is skipped here but not reflected in numbering system
36	35	
37	36	Begin <i>Frater</i> Guillelmus de Vigolo
38	39	The document's numbering jumps here, text remains continuous
39	40	Numbering remains one ahead until beginning of <i>instrumenta</i>
42	43	Begin <i>Dominus</i> Antolinus de Filiis Agadis
48	49	Begin <i>Magister</i> Çumignanus
50	51	Begin <i>Dominus</i> Ruffinus de Andito
53	54	Begin <i>Presbiter</i> Gerardus
59	60	Begin <i>Presbiter</i> Iacobus
65	66	Begin Rolandus Zumignanus
66	67	Begin <i>Magister</i> Aço Medicus
71	72	Begin Iohannes de Christiana
74	75	Begin <i>Magister</i> Iacobus de Berçano
75	76	Begin <i>Presbiter</i> Albertus
79	80	Begin <i>Visdominus</i> Iohannes Zanarellus
81	82,3,4,5,6,7	Begin <i>Instrumenta</i>
82	88	
83	89	
84	89 <sup>bis</sup>	
85	90	
86	91	
87	92	
88	93	
89	94	

90	95	
91	96	
92	97	
93	98	
94	99	
95	100	
96	101	
97	102	

## Appendix C: Instrumenta

Instrumentum #/ Page #	Description/Content	Date
f. 89, l. 41	Iohannes de Vigoleno assigned as procurator; Franciscans ordered to tear down everything they had already begun.	June 18, 1278
1/f. 81, l. 15-	A vicar of the Bishop, Ubertus Corvi, assigns a notary to the case: Obertus de Bardi. The friars were cited on October 25, 26 and 27 to appear before the Chapter representatives	Oct. 25, 1278
	second summons	Oct. 26, 1278
	third summons	Oct. 27, 1278
	By the will of the Bishop and Chapter, the Guardian of the Minors, Frate Bonusdeus de Parma and his rebel friars were excommunicated from the Church of Piacenza	Nov. 14, 1278
2/ f. 82, l. 9-34		Oct. 27, 1278
3/ f. 82, l. 35	Iohannes de Vigoleno presents one of the friars, Egidio da Rotofredo, with a letter from the papal delegates. The document requires the friars to appear before the delegates to swear oaths within ten days at the church of Sant'Eufemia.	August 2, 1282
	Friar Gerardinus Rangono, the Guardian of the friars, presented himself before the delegates at Sant'Eufemia to declare obedience.	August 11, 1282
	Friar Gerardinus presents an official letter of August 8, in which Friar Vitalis, the Provincial Minister of Bologna, named him the new Guardian of the convent. Gerardinus swears to represent the convent in the trial. He is asked to return at 3pm, when he shows them the document in which the friars declare him their representative. The delegates order that representatives be named in favor of the friars, which angers Gerardinus, and he leaves. This marks the end of the friars' cooperation in the trial. He does briefly return to request that the trial be moved to Cremona due to the partiality of the Piacentine judges. He is invited to watch the witnesses on behalf of the parishes swear in. His requests are not honored.	August 12, 1282
f. 87 l. 31		August 13, 1282
f. 19; f. 24; f. 30; f. 34; f. 59	Presbiters Vincentius, Simon, Canonus, Ubertus Reddemanus, Iacobus swear in	Friday, August 14, 1282
f. 88, l. 47	Dominus Guillelmus Archipresbiter RetanoPresbiter Symon Minister Ecclesie Sancti petri in foroPresbiter Iohabnes eiusdem ecclesie Sancti PetriPresbiter Vincentius Minister ecclesie sancti GeroriiPresbieter Petrus, Minister ecclesie Sancti GervasiiPresbiter Ianonus eiusdem ecclesieDominus Gerardus de AnditoCanonicus Plebis de Valian0Ubertus	Friday, August 14, 1282

	Reddemanus, Clericus Ecclesie Sancti ProtasiiPresbiter Petrus Minister ecclesie Sancti Nicolay de Filiis AntoniisPresbiter Bernardus Minister Ecclesie Sancti Nicolay de Orta NovaPresbiter Gerardus Minister ecclesie Sancti Martini in ForoPresbiter Iacobus Minister ecclesie Sancte Marie de ZmualisDon Petrus Monachus mon 0 Sancti SistiDominus Du(m) P(re) Nicolaus Rector et Minister Ecclesie Sancte Marie de BigolisPresbiter Petrus de Monte eiusdem ecclesiePresbiter Petrus de Seriana eiusdem ecclesie	
f. 19	Vincentius testified	Monday, August 17, 1282
f. 24	Simon testified	Tuesday, August 18, 1282
f. 90, l. 22		Tuesday, August 18, 1282
f. 90, l. 33		August 13, 1282
f. 30	Canonus Testified	Wednesday, August 19, 1282
f. 91, l. 6		Thursday, August 20, 1282
f. 34; f. 37; f. 48; f. 50; f. 53	Ubertus Reddemanus testified (last of our witnesses to testify from the first batch of those who swore in on Friday, August 14); Frater Guillelmus de Vigolo swore in and testified, Zumignanus, Roffinus de Andito, Presbiter Gerardus swore in	Thursday, August 20, 1282
	Dominus Villanus de Andito Dominus Ruffinus de Andito Dominus Guelfus de Andito Dominus Antolinus de Filiis Agadis Zumignanus Magister Rolandus Zumignani Magister Albertonus de Bardi Magister Iohannes de Christiana Magister Iohannes Zopmallus Magister Ugo Sollamus  Domina Vi...ria domini Ginzardi de Andito Domina Binia uxor Domini Carneval0 Iondarii Duodecim apostolorum Domina Agnalla uxor condam magistri Pagani Dugranaga Domina Sibilia filia Domini Iohannis Monazeli Domina Agnasina uxor domini Pagani Igum Frater Guillermus Domus Duodecim apostolorum de Placentia Frater Petrus Ugo Sellarius	Thursday, August 20, 1282

	Dominus Villanus de Andito Dominus Roffinus de Andito Zumignanus Magister Dominus Antolinus de Filiis Agadis Presbiter Gerardus Minster ecclesie Sancti Ylarii de Placentia Domina Zuana Frater Petrus Domus Duodecim apostolorum Frater Guillelmus Domus Duodecim apostolorum Presbiter Gerardus mister ecclesie...	
f. 42;	<i>Dominus</i> Antolinus swore in and testified; <i>Presbiter</i> Gerardus swore in	Friday, August 21, 1282
	<i>Frater Roffinus de Fontana</i> <i>Frater Raynaldus de Ragio</i> <i>Frater Abbertinus de Arroll</i> <i>Frater Placentinus de Bubiano</i> <i>Frater Nicolaus Bagarotus</i> <i>Frater Maffeus lector dicti conventus</i> <i>Frater Guillelmus Blancus</i> <i>Frater Egidius de Rotafirdo (tertiary?)</i>	August 21, 1282 (probably)
f. 48	Çumignanus testified	Saturday, August 22, 1282
f. 92, l. 15	Domina Sibilina filia Domini Iohannis monzoli Domina Agnosina Uxor Domini Pagani Bagaron Domina Victoria Uxor Domini Guzardi de andito Domina Zoana uxor	Saturday, August 22, 1282
f. 92, l. 45		Sunday, August 23, 1282
f. 50	<i>Dominus</i> Roffinus de Andito testified	Sunday, August 23, 1282
f. 93, l. 10		Monday, August 24, 1282
f. 53; f. 59	<i>Presbiters</i> Gerardus and Iacobus testified	Monday, August 24, 1282
f. 93, l. 14-21	<i>Frater Roffinus de Fontana</i> <i>Frater Raynaldus de Ragio</i> <i>Frater Albertinus de Arcellus</i> <i>Frater Placentinus de Bubiano</i> <i>Frater Guillelmus Blanchus</i> <i>Frater Egidius de Rotofrodo</i> <i>Frater Maffeus Lector</i> ( <i>omnis ordinis fratrum minorum de Placentia</i> ) <i>Magister Iohannes Zapinellos</i> <i>Rolandus Zumignanus</i> <i>Albertus Pigotzus</i> <i>Iohannes de Christiana</i> <i>Gandulfus Bellengarius</i> <i>Albertonus de Bardi</i> <i>Symon Advocatus</i> <i>Iacobus de Mazano</i> <i>Omnis sunt magister muri</i> <i>Iohannes de Rigalis</i> <i>Ubertus Surdus Medicus</i> <i>Magister Azo Medicus</i>	Monday, August 24, 1282
f. 65; f. 66; f. 71	Rolandus Zumignanus and <i>Magister</i> Aço Medicus swore in and testified, Iohannes de Christiana swore in	Tuesday, August 25, 1282

f. 71; f. 74	Iohannes de Christiana testified; <i>Magister</i> Iacobus de Berçano swore in and testified	Wednesday, August 26, 1282
f. 75; f. 79	Presbiter Albertus swore in and testified; Iohannes Zanarellus swore in	Friday, September 4, 1282
f. 93, l. 28		September 4, 1282
f. 79	Iohannes Zanarellus testified	Saturday, September 5, 1282
f. 94, l. 27		September 23, 1282
f. 94, l. 29		September 21, 1282
f. 95, l. 14	De Vigoleno tries to drop off a letter to the friars, they ignore him, singing the <i>magnificat</i>	September 24, 1282
f. 95, l. 15		September 23, 1282
f. 84, l. 13		December 18, 1282
f. 84, l. 38		January 11, 1283
f. 85, l. 7		January 11, 1283
f. 85, l. 31		December 19, 1282

## Appendix D: Capituli

### *CAPITULUM 1*

Witnesses specify the location of the site, naming the parishes it is within..

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	Quod locus in quo consuevit domus Dominus Ubertinus de Andito qui est positus infra hos confines videlicet viam de Supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maior ad domum Domini Raynaldi Salimbeni in qua moratur potestas Comunis Placentie est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum Sancti Faustini Sancti Iacobi Sancte Marie de Cario et Sancti Nicolay de Filiis Agadis
Simon	Quod ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancte marie de cario et sancti nicolo de filiis agadis et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini et sancti Michele
Canonus	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum sancte marie de cario sancti faustini et sancti iacobi
Ubertus Reddemanus	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochias ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancti marie de cario
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti michaelis sancti Nicolay de Filiis agadis et sancte marie de cario
Antolinus	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancte marie de cario sancti faustini et sancti michaelis
Cumignanus	Quod dictus locus ... est prope ecclesias sancti donini et sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti michaelis sancte marie de cario et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini et nescit bene distinguere quantum dictus locus distat a ss.tis ecclesiis et nescit an dictus locus sit situs infra limites dictarum ecclesiarum an extra quia nescit ipsos limites.
Roffinus de Andito	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sacnte marie de cario.
Gerardus	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti faustini et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancte marie de cario
Presbiter Iacobus	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancte marie de cario
Rolandus Zumignanus	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum sancte Marie de Cario Sancti Faustini Sancti Nicolay de Filiis Agadis Sancti Michaelis et ancti Iacobi de Supramuro
Aço Medicus	Quod locus...est situs infra limites ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti iacobi de supramuro sancte marie de cario et sancti Nicolay de Filiis agadis.
Iohannes de Christiana	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancte marie de cario sancti michaelis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini placentie quod dicitur public per gentem



	et s(er) quod credit ipse testis et aliter nescit quia nescit bene limites ipsarum ecclesiarum.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Quod nescit terminos parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti michaelis sancte marie de cario sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti faustini sancti donini et ideo nescit dicere si locus in quo consuevit esse domus domini ubertini de andito qui est positus infra hos confines videlicet inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi Salimbeni in qua moratur potestas comunis placentia sit situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum quia non est vicinus ipsarum ecclesiarum.
Albertus	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti nicolay de filiis agadis sancte marie de cario sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini placentia
Iohannes Zanarellus	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti michaelis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini.

## CAPITULUM 2

The witnesses reiterate the street location of the site.

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus infra viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesiis maior usque ad domum Domini Raynaldi predicti
Simon	Item dixit quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque domus domini Raynaldi predicti
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiore usque ad domum domini raynaldi predicti
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiore usque ad domum domini raynaldi predicti
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est postitus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictus locus est positus inter viam de

	supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item dixit quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad dictam domum
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum dicti domini Raynaldi

#### *CAPITULUA 3-4*

These establish the length of time the site in question had been located within the affected parishes.

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites ... predictarum parrochiarum ipsarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt xx et triginta
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictis locus fuit et est situs infra limites predictarum parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testi quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est... parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti et ... anni
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est situs infra limites dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et viginti et triginta quadraginta et quinquaginta et centum anni sunt et plus.
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites predictarum parrochiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti triginta et quadraginta ultra.

Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super tertio et quarto capitulis lectis sibi diligenter dixit quod dictus locus est infra circuitum ipsarum ecclesiarum et nescit limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum et id circo nescit si dictus locus sit infra limites ipsarum ecclesiarum vel extra
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictus locus est situs et fuit infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti et triginta anni
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est et fuit situs infra limites parrochiarum predictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et viginti et triginta quadraginta quinquaginta et sexaginta et ultra
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et a memoria ipsius testis citra.
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est infra limites dictarum parrochiarum iam sunt centum anni
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni triginta quadraginta et sexaginta et plus.
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est situs infra limites predictarum parrochiarum ecclesiarum predictarum iam sunt centum anni et plus.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Et super quarto articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod iam sunt etc. Se nichil scire quia nescit limites dictarum parrochiarum ut dixit lectis sibi diligenter.
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum predictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt quinquaginta anni et plus
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam est longum tempus.

## CAPITULUM 5

The Friars moved to their new site about 5 years earlier

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicti Guardianus et Fratres ordinis minorum de placentium ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt de mense iunii proximi preteriti
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt in mense iunii proximi preteriti
Canonus	Item dixit quod bene scit quod Guardianus et fratres minores ordinis placentie ceperunt facere edificare in dicto loco set nescit qua die nec quo anno nec quo mense
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis ... anni sint quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicti Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificare in dicto loco fuerunt quatuor anni

	de mense iunii proximi preteriti
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod quatuor anni sunt credit quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco.
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super tertio et quarto capitulis lectis sibi diligenter (third here) Item dixit ipse testis quod possunt esse quatuor anni vel circa id quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentiam inceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicti Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt et in mense iunii proximi preteriti ut audivit dici et aliter nescit quia non erat tunc in civitate placentie.
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentiam ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt in mense iunii proximi preteriti.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod sint tres anni et plus quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis fratrum minorum de placentiam ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod quatuor anni sunt vel id circa quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod quatuor anni sunt vel id circa quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt de mense iunii proximi preteriti
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt in mense iunii proximi preteriti
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco set non recordatur quo anno nec quo mense nec quo die
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis fratrem minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco set non recordatur quo anno nec quo mense nec quo die tamquam credit quod sint quatuor anni vel id circa

## CAPITULUM 6

The friars are denounced *per iactum lapilli* (the throwing of stones)

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	No
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod denuntiatur fuit fratribus cum tribus lapidibus ne procederent in dicto edificio per iudicium dicti capituli et audivit dici quod inde fuit factum instrumentum et nescit quis

	facierit ipsum et nichil aliud scit de dicto capitulo sibi diligenter per singula lecto.
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod denuntiatur fuit fratribus minoribus per syndicum capituli placentie archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum ne ipsi fratres procederent in edificio incepto per eos dixit quod vidit instrumentum dicte denuntiationis et nescit bene tenere ipsius instrumen-
Ubertus Reddemanus	Pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod denuntiatur fuit fratribus minoribus de placntiam per procuratorem seu syndicum capituli placentiam archipresbiteri Sancti Donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum ne ipsi fratres procederent nec procedere deberent in dicto edificio. Et hoc scit ipse testis per unum instrumentum quod vidit et audivit legi et aliter nescit
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto septimo et octavo capitulis que sic incipient. Item intendit etc. (seventh and eighth here) Sibi testi per singula lectis dixit se nichil scire nisi per auditum
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto septimo et octavo capitulis lectis sibi testi diligenter per ordinem se nescire bene veritatem de hiis que in dictis capitulis continentur quia non interfuit tamquam dixit ipse testis cum ipse laboraret ad ecclesiam que fiebat in dicto loco preceptum fuit ei experte episcopi placentiam sub pene excomunis ne amplius laboraret ibi. Et ita ipse testis timens dictum preceptum stetit quod non laboravit ibi nec laborare voluit nec habet in mente si postea laboraret ibi  que dicta capitula sic incipiuntur videlicet sextum. Item intendit etc.  Tamquam dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod denuntiatur fuerat fratribus ex parte domini episcopi et canonicorum placentie ne procederent nec procedi facerent in dicto edificio
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis super illo capitulo sexto quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator nomine quo supra etc. Lectis ipsis capitulis ipsi testi singulariter et per ordinem dixit se nichil scire super eis quia non interfuit
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod syndicus seu procurator capituli placentiam archipresbiteri ecclesie sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum procuratorio nomine pro eisdem per trium iactum lapilli nuntiavit in dicto opere novum opus existens in eodem loco ubi edificabatur
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod syndicus capituli et ecclesiarum placentiae denuntiaverat fratribus cum tribus lapidibus ne ipsi deberent procedere in dicto opere et aliud nescit quia non interfuit predictis.
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod denuntiatur fuit sibi quodam tempore quo laborabat in dicto loco pro dictis fratribus quod non laboraret in dicto loco set quod denuntiatur fuerit fratribus nescit ipse testis nec recordatur
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod denuntiatur fuit sibi quodam tempore quo laborabat in dicto loco pro dictis fratribus quod non laboraret in dicto loco set quod denuntiatur fuerit fratribus nescit ipse testis nec recordatur

Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod denuntiatio fuit sibi quodam tempore quo laborabat in dicto loco pro dictis fratribus quod non laboraret in dicto loco set quod denuntiatio fuerit fratribus nescit ipse testis nec recordatur
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Not mentioned
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto articulo qui sic incipit. Item intendit probare etc. Dixit ipse testis se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit denuntiationi lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis super illis tribus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator etc. (7, 8) Lectis ipsi testi diligenter dixit se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit predictae nuntiationi tamquam quod audivit dici quod denuntiatio fuit fratribus ne procederent in dicto edificio et aliter nescit.

## CAPITULUM 7

At the time of the denunciation, certain friars and *magisters* are present.

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	No
Simon	Item super septimo articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etcetera dixit se nichil scire quia non interfuit
Canonus	Super capitulo pro sic incipit. Item quod....quia non interfuit dicte
Ubertus Reddemanus	Pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis super septimo (et octavo capitulo) que sic incipiuntur. Item quod tempore dicte denuntiationis facte etc. (eighth here) Dixit ipse testis se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit dicte nuntiationi sibi predictis capitulis diligenter personaliter lectis
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto septimo et octavo capitulis que sic incipient. (sixth here) Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc. (eighth here) Sibi testi per singula lectis dixit se nichil scire nisi per auditum.
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto septimo et octavo capitulis lectis sibi testi diligenter per ordinem se nescire bene veritatem de hiis que in dictis capitulis continentur quia non interfuit tamquam dixit ipse testis cum ipse laboraret ad ecclesiam que fiebat in dicto loco preceptum fuit ei exparte episcopi placentiam sub pene excomunis ne amplius laboraret ibi. Et ita ipse testis timens dictum preceptum stetit quod non laboravit ibi nec laborare voluit nec habet in mente si postea laboraret ibi (sixth here)  Septimum sic. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte et cetera
Roffinus de Andito	Et super septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc. Lectis ipsis capitulis ipsi testi singulariter et per ordinem dixit se nichil

	scire super eis quia non interfuit.
Gerardus	Super septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiatiinis facto etc. Dixit se nichil scire sibi diligenter per singula de verbo ad verbum lectis quia non interfuit dicte nuntiationi
Presbiter Iacobus	not mentioned
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super omnibus capitulis loquentibus de dicta denuntiatione se nolle aliquid dicere quia non recordatur de dicta denuntiatione aliquid.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit quod audivit dici quod tempore dicte denuntiationis fratres Nicolaus Bagaroti et Melioratus de Formimpopulo ordinis fratrum minorum dicte civitatis et magistri Rolandum Zumignanus et Tçonus de Bardi et Frendontius Zopinolli et Iohannes de Christiana operantes et operari facientes in dicto edificio pro dictis fratribus.
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte in dicto edificio errant presentes in dicto loco fratres Nicolaus Bagarotus et Melioratus de Formimpopulo ordinis fratrum minorum de placentia et magistri Rolandus Zumignanus et B0zon(us) de Bardi et Ffredonicus Zopinelli ipse testis operantes et operari facientes in dicto edificio pro dictis fratribus
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem
Albertus	Et super septimo qui sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc. Dixit ipse testis se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit denuntiationi lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis super illis tribus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. (6) secundus sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc. (8) Lectis ipsi testi diligenter dixit se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit predice nuntiationi tamquam quod audivit dici quod denuntiatiium fuit fratribus ne procederent in dicto edificio et aliter nescit.

## CAPITULUM 8

At the time of the denunciation, the *magisters* were putting up the walls

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod postquam audivit dici quod denuntiatiium fuerat fratribus ne procederent in dicto edificio ipse testis vidit quod magistri in dicto loco sufrenabant muros arcumque ibi factos
Simon	Item dixit quod audivit dici quod magistri edificantos in dicto loco tempore dicte nuntiationis facte ut audivit dici faciebantes nubatari seu suffranari muros arcumque ibi factes et aliter nescit
Canonus	Super octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. dixit se nescire quia non interfui dicte nuntiationi

Ubertus Reddemanus	Pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis super (septimo et) octavo capitulo que sic incipiuntur (seventh here) Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Dixit ipse testis se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit dicte nuntiationi sibi predictis capitulis diligenter personaliter lectis
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto septimo et octavo capitulis que sic incipient. (sixth and seventh here) Item quod tempore dicto nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Sibi testi per singula lectis dixit se nichil scire nisi per auditum
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto septimo et octavo capitulis lectis sibi testi diligenter per ordinem se nescire bene veritatem de hiis que in dictis capitulis continentur quia non interfuit tamquam dixit ipse testis cum ipse laboraret ad ecclesiam que fiebat in dicto loco preceptum fuit ei experte episcopi placentiam sub pene excommunis ne amplius laboraret ibi. Et ita ipse testis timens dictum preceptum stetit quod non laboravit ibi nec laborare voluit nec habet in mente si postea laboraret ibi (sixth and seventh here)  Octavum sic. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc.
Roffinus de Andito	Et super octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Lectis ipsis capitulis ipsi testi singulariter et per ordinem dixit se nichil scire super eis quia non interfuit.
Gerardus	Super octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Dixit se nichil scire sibi diligenter per singula de verbo ad verbum lectis quia non interfuit dicte nuntiationi
Presbiter Iacobus	No
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super omnibus capitulis loquentibus de dicta denuntiatione se nolle aliquid dicere quia non recordatur de dicta denuntiatione aliquid.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super capitulo octavo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod ipse et omnis alii magistri tempore dicte denuntiationis sufrenabant muros circumquaque factos in dicto loco.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	Et super octavo capitulo qui sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Dixit ipse testis se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit denuntiationi lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis super illis tribus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. (6, 7) Tertius sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Lectis ipsi testi diligenter dixit se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit predictae nuntiationi tamquam quod audivit dici quod denuntiatio fuit fratribus ne procederent in dicto edificio et aliter nescit.



## CAPITULUM 9

The friars continued building after the denunciation

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod ab eo tempore citra quod denuntiatus fuerat ut predictum est a dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod spreca dicta denuntiatione dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco nulla prefata satisfactio predictis capitulo et archipresbitero et rectoribus dictarum ecclesiarum
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod spreca dicta denuntiatione dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt procedi in dicto edificio et nescit si predicti satisfecerint
Ubertus Reddemanus	Pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod post dictam denuntiationem dicti fratres et Guardianus fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco nulla premissa suas da... capitulo archipresbitero et rectoribus dictarum ecclesiarum.
Antolinus	Item dixit testis quod dicti fratres post audivit dici denuntiationem esse factam dictis fratribus fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco de satisfactio premissa vel non premissa noluit se intromittere ipse testis quia nichil scit de eo.
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres postquam audivit sic denuntiatus ipsis fratribus fuisse fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco de satisfactio noluit aliquid dicere ipse testis quia nescit utrum dederunt vel non dederunt
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis super nono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod spreca dicta denuntiatione et etc. (ioth here) Lectis ipsis capitulis diligenter per singula dixit ipse testis quod ipse vidit plures quod dicti fratres fecerunt laborari in dicto loco a tribus annis citra et aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis quia nescit utrum spreca vel non spreca denuntiatio et premissa vel non premissa satisfactio
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod spreca dicta denuntiatione dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco de satisfactio utrum premissa vel non premissa nescit.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres spreca dicta denuntiatione fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco nulla premissa seu oblata satisfactio capitulo ecclesie placentie et rectoribus dictarum ecclesiarum
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super omnibus capitulis loquentibus de dicta denuntiatione se nolle aliquid dicere quia non recordatur de dicta denuntiatione aliquid.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres postquam ipse testis audivit dici sic denuntiatus fuisse ut predixit fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco de premissa satisfactio vel non premissa nescit.

Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis super nono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod spreca dicta denuntiatione etc. Dixit se nichil scire primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter per singula.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres quod audivit fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio post nuntiationem eis factam et aliter nescit nisi per auditum quia non interfuit.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item quod exceptam dicta nuntiatione etc. lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter

#### *CAPITULUM 10*

The friars continue building today, in defiance of the denunciation

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opera spreca dicta denuntiatione.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opere predicta nuntiatione conceptam
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie etc. Dixit se nolle intromi...quia nichil sciebat ac sibi diligenter per singula lecto
Ubertus Reddemanus	Pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opere predicta nuntiatione concepta
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opere.
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opere ut credit et aliter nescit
Roffinus de Andito	Et super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie etc. Lectis ipsis capitulis diligenter per singula dixit ipse testis quod ipse vidit plures quod dicti fratres fecerunt laborari in dicto loco a tribus annis citra et aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis quia nescit utrum spreca vel non spreca nuntiatio et prestita vel non prestita satisfatione
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie etc. Dixit se nichil scire sibi diligenter per singula lecto
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres faciunt procedi hodie in dicto opere predicta nuntiatione concepta
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super omnibus capitulis loquentibus de dicta denuntiatione se nolle aliquid dicere quia non recordatur de dicta denuntiatione aliquid.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis super omnibus capitulis loquentibus de dicta

	denuntiatione se nolle aliquid dicere quia non recordatur de dicta denuntiatione aliquid.
Iohannes de Christiana	Et super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie faciunt procedi etc. Dixit se nichil scire primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter per singula.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Et super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie faciunt procedi etc. Dixit se nichil scire primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter per singula.
Albertus	skipped
Iohannes Zanarellus	not mentioned

### *CAPITULUM II*

The new work or building was built to the detriment of Piacenza's Cathedral Chapter and others

Anonymous	No
Anonymous A	No
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum novum opus est factum et fit in preiudicium capituli ecclesie placentia et archipresbiteri ecclesie sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum opus seu edificium factum est et fit an preiudicium dictam capitulam archipresbiterum et vesco dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum novum opus seu edificium factum est et fit in preiudicium capituli ecclesie placentie archipresbiteri Sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum
Ubertus Reddemanus	Pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit firmiter quod dictum novum edificium seu opus factum est et fit in preiudicium dictorum capituli archipresbiteri et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum novum opus seu edificium est et fit in preiudicium capituli ecclesie placentie archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum.
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum novum opus seu edificium factum per ipsos fratres facit preiudicium capitulo ecclesie placentie et archipresbitero sancti donini et rectoribus dictarum ecclesiarum ut credit ipse testi et aliter nescit nisi per solam credentiam.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod opus seu edificium factum in dicto loco factum est et fit in preiudicium capituli placentia et archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum ecclesiarum predictarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum ut credit.
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum opus seu edificium factum est et fit in preiudicium dictorum capituli archipresbiteri et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum.

Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum edificium novum seu opus factum est et fit in preiudicium dicti capituli et archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit quod credit quod dictum novum opus seu edificium factum est et fit in preiudicium rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit dictum opus seu edificium factum est et fit in preiudicium capituli placentie archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsorum ecclesiarum.
Iohannes de Christiana	Et super undecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictum novum opus etc. Dixit se nichil scire primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter per singula.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	skipped
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. (9) Secundus sic incipit. Item quod dictum novum edificium etc. lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter

## *CAPITULUM 12*

### *Vox et Fama*

Anonymous	pages missing
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit in civitate placentie publica vox et fama.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Canonus	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est in civitate placentie publica vox et fama

Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitate placentia
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis super duodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod de predictis etc.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item super octavo nono decimo undecimo duodecimo tertidecimo quartodecimo quintodecimo sextodecimo decimooctavo et decimonono capitulis dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	Item dixit quod credit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum sit publica vox et fama et aliter dixit se nescire quia stat ipse testis nunc iuxta fines civitatem placentie
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie

### *CAPITULUM 13*

#### *Publica et Notoria*

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate placentie
Simon	Item dixit quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate placentie
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentiam
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria per civitatem placentie
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie.
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie.
Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt

	publica et notoria in civitate predicta
Iohannes de Christiana	Et super tertiodécimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod predicta et singula etc.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item super octavo nono decimo undécimo duodécimo tertiodécimo quartodécimo quintodécimo sextodécimo decimooctavo et decimonono capitulis dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	Et dixit quod credit quod predicta sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie et aliter nescit quia stat iuxta fines dicte civitate
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate placentie

#### *CAPITULUM 14*

A privilege exists that prevents construction without permission

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis super quartodécimo capitulo sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus partem pro capitulo etc. Dixit se nescire nisi quod audivit que capitulum ecclesiam placentie habe .. privilegium in quo continentur quod nullus adebant construere ecclesiam sine conscriptis ipsius capituli et non aliud scit doliis que in dicto capitulo contirent per diligenter per singula lecto
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit esse concessum privilegium capitulo ecclesia maioris placentie ante quam fratres predicta inciperent dictum novum opus ne cui liceat infra parrochias ecclesiarum ipsius capituli construi ecclesiam vel oratorium sine assensu diocesani episcopi vel capituli
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod capitulum ecclesie placentie hunc privilegium quod nullus audet nec debet facere ecclesiam in civitatem placentie sine assensu episcopi vel capituli placentie sed numquam vidit ipsum privilegium
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulo quarto decimo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator. Dixit se scire in dicto capitulo continentur solummodo per audietum et non aliter.
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis super quartodécimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator etc. Dixit se nichil scire nisi per auditum sibi per singula diligenter.
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod ecclesia maior placentie habebat privilegium quod nullus audebat construere ecclesiam in civitatem placentie sine consensus capituli placentie set numquam vidit ipsum privilegium.
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super quartodécimo articulo lecto sibi diligenter et per ordinem qui sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo etc.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis super quartodécimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo maioris ecclesie etc.

	Dixit se nichil scire sibi lecto diligenter per singula
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod concessum fuit privilegium capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie ab apostolica sede ante quam fratres predicti inciperent dictum opus ne cui liceat infra parrochias ecclesiarum ipsius capituli sine assensu diocesani episcopi vel capituli construere ecclesiam vel oratorium
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod capitulum ecclesie placentie habet privilegium ne an liceat edificare infra parrochias ipsius capituli ecclesiam nec oratorium sine assensu diocesani episcopi vel di() capituli et aliter nescit
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illo capitulo quod sic incipit Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie etc. lecto ipsi testi diligenter.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo maioris ecclesie etc. se nichil scire
Iohannes de Christiana	Et super quartodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo etc
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item super octavo nono decimo undecimo duodecimo tertidecimo quartodecimo quintodecimo sextodecimo decimooctavo et decimonono capitulis dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod concessum est privilegium a sede apostolica capitulo ecclesie placentie ne cui liceat edificare seu construere ecclesiam vel oratorium infra parrochias ecclesiarum ipsius capituli sine assensu episcopi et capituli placentie et audivit ipse testis legi dictum privilegium in una predicatione ut credit ipse testis.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis tribus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo etc.

## *CAPITULUM 15-16*

The Franciscans built their church without such permission

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificare fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentia preiudicium rectoribus et eis contradicentibus et ... fratres et alias nescit de hiis continentur in quinto decimo et sextodecimo capitulo sibi diligenter per singula lexit.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et contradicenti dicto capitulo.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus.
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco. Et dixit quod hoc fecerunt dicti fratres s0nii quod audivit dici sine

	assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie et eis contradicentibus
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificari ceperunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentini in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus.
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus.
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit quod credit quod Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentini in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus et aliter nescit.
Gerardus	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentia in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus
Iohannes de Christiana	Et super quintodecimo capiutlo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus etc. Et super sextodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod eis etc. Se nichil scire primo omnibus capitulis predictis sibi per singula de verbo ad verbum diligenter lectis
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item super octavo nono decimo undecimo duodecimo tertidecimo quartodecimo quintodecimo sextodecimo decimooctavo et decimonono capitulis dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	Item dixit quod dicti fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie et eis contradicentibus ut credit ipse testis set non interfuit contradictioni
Iohannes Zanarellus	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt etc. Tertius sic incipit. Item quod eis etc. Lectis ipsi testi singulariter et diligenter per ordinem

## *CAPITULUM 17*

After their denunciation, the Franciscans built buildings where they celebrate mass

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres postquam fuerat eis denuntiati fecerunt construere in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate quidam domos in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant.
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Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit quod testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi postquam audivit dici dictam denuntiationem factam fuisse domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres post dictam denuntiationem fecerunt construi domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium
Canonus	Item ipse testis quod dictu Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam nuntiationem domos in dicto loco in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant.
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam nuntiationem in dicto loco domos in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dici Guardianus et fratres ostquam audivit dictam denuntiationem factam fuisse fecerunt construi domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super decimo septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi etc.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis super decimo septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi etc
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam nuntiationem novi operis domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam nuntiationem domos in dicto loco in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant
Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres postquam ipse testis audivit sic denuntiatum fuisse eis ut supradixit fecerunt construi in dicto loco domos in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam denuntiationem novi operis domos i dicto loco in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item super octavo nono decimo undecimo duodecimo tertiodecimo quartodecimo quintodecimo sextodecimo decimo octavo et decimonono capitulis dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	Item super decimo septimo articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres etc.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Gardinaus et fratres fecerunt construi in dicto loco ut credit ipse testis post dictam denuntiationem set nescit quid fecerunt construi in ipso loco postea et aliud noluit dicere ipse testis super illis tribus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres etc.

## CAPITULUM 18

They also built buildings where they performed their other conventual functions

Anonymous	Et quod fecerunt fieri in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas.
Anonymous A	... alias domos in quibus faciunt alias officinas.
Vincentius	Et fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
Simon	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
Canonus	Et quod fecerunt consrui in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinae.
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
Antolinus	Et facerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
Cumignanus	Et super decimo octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos etc.
Roffinus de Andito	Et super decimo octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos etc.
Gerardus	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
Iohannes de Christiana	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alios eorum officinas
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item super octavo nono decimo undecimo duodecimo tertidecimo quartodecimo quintodecimo sextodecimo decimooctavo et decimonono capitulis dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	Et super decimo octavo qui sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos etc.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros etc.

## CAPITULUM 19

They also built walls in the form of a cloister

Anonymous	Item dixit super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alios muros ad modum claustrum Dixit se nichil scire quia non fuit in dicto loco postquam dicti fratres ab edificaverunt.
Anonymous A	Et quod fecerunt construi... in dicto loco quasdam alias muros ad modum claustrum.
Vincentius	Et quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam alias muros ad modum claustrum.
Simon	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum
Canonus	Et quod fecerunt construi quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum.
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum
Antolinus	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam muros in modum claustrum
Cumignanus	Et super decimonono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quasdam alios muros etc. Dixit ipse testis sibi testi predictis capitulis lectis per ordinem quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt fieri in dicto loco quicquid voluerunt et potuerunt postquam audivit dici denuntiaturum fuisse eis ne procederent in dicto edificio u test dictum supra. Set quid fecerunt fieri et quantum ex tunc dixit ipse testis se non bene scire et aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis.
Roffinus de Andito	Et super decimo nono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam alios muros etc. Dixit ipse testis quod bene vidit quod dicti fratres fecerunt fieri in dicto loco quasdam domos ubi fecerunt dormitorium et perratorium et cochinam et noluit aliud dicere ipse testis super ipsis capitulis diligenter sibi per ordinem lectis.
Gerardus	Et quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum.
Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	Et quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam muros ad modum claustrum.
Iohannes de Christiana	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quos alios muros in modum claustrum.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item super octavo nono decimo undecimo duodecimo tertidecimo quartodecimo quintodecimo sextodecimo decimo octavo et decimonono capitulis dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
Albertus	Et super decimo nono articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros etc. lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter dixit ipse testi quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quod bene

	credit et audivit dici quod dicti fratres fecerunt construi in dicto loco post nuntiationem eis factam set nescit quid fecerunt construi in dicto loco quia non fuit ipse testis in dicto loco ex quo dicti fratres ceperunt facere edificari ibi.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Tertius sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam alios muros etc. Lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter

## *CAPITULUM 20*

On account of this, the parishioners stopped going to their churches for mass

Anonymous	skipped
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod parrochiani dictarum parrochiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter dictum opus ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod parrochiani etc.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum quod propter dictum edificium factum in r0 dicto loco cessaverunt et cessant ire ad predictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina officia
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit quod credit bene quod alicui de parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum propter opus factum in dicto loco cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendu divina
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit dxtus testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
Magister	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter

Iacobus de Berzano	dictum edificium cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
Albertus	Super viginto articulo qui sic incipit: Item intendit probare quod parrochiani etc. dixit ipse testis quod credit quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum relinquerunt suas ecclesias et vadunt ad dictum locum ad officia divina ut audivit ipse testis a presbiteros dicte ecclesie sancti Jacobi quod omnis dominici parrochie sue relinquerunt eum et ibant ad dictum locum ad officia.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod parrochiani etc.

## *CAPITULUM 21*

These parishioners have therefore stopped offering donations to their churches

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant oblationes offerre dictis ecclesiis
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod parrochiani dictarum parrochiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter dictum opus ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
Canonus	Et quod propter hoc parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per auditum.
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant oblatinoes offerre dictis ecclesiis
Antolinus	Et quod dicti parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant oblationes offerre dictis ecclesiis
Cumignanus	Et super viginto primo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod propter hoc etc.
Roffinus de Andito	Et quod propter hoc parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dicti ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam
Gerardus	Et quod ipsi parrochiani propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant oblationes offerre predictis ecclesiis
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod propter hoc parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis
Rolandus Zumignanus	Et quod propter hoc rectores dictarum ecclesiarum amittunt oblationes plures.
Aço Medicus	Et quod propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant oblationes offerre dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit.
Iohannes de Christiana	Et quod propter parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis ut audivit dici ipse testis et aliter nescit.

Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Et propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant dicti parrochiani a dictis divinis et oblationibus.
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter locum predictum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam et per auditum
Iohannes Zanarellus	Secundus Sic incipit. Item quod propter hoc parrochiani etc. Lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter.

## *CAPITULUM 22*

The friars celebrating mass in the place in question receive parishioners to mass

Anonymous	illegible
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item credit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictorum ecclesiarum ad divina et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti domibus celebrantes receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
Canonus	Item dixit quod fratres dicti ordinis celebrantes in dictis domibus divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina s()m quod audivit dici et aliter nescit.
Ubertus Reddemanus	pages missing
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit dictus testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
Cumignanus	Et super viginto secundo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod fratres dicti ordinis etc
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina.
Gerardus	Item dixit quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit quod bene audivit dici quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina.
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit quod fratres dicti ordinis celebrantes divina in dicto loco receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit dictus testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina recipiunt et receperunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina

Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum d divina
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina.
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod fratres dicti ordinis celebrantes divina in dicto loco recipiunt parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina et aliud nescit super ipso articulo.

### *CAPITULUM 23*

The friars celebrate wedding masses to the detriment of the parish churches

Anonymous	Super viginto tertio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod celebraverunt etc. Dixit se nichil scire nisi per auditum.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quodaudivit dici quod icti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum frequenter in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicti fratres celebraverunt missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit nisi per auditum
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit dictus testis quod ipse audivit dici bene credit quod dici fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum frequenter in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum.
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis ea que continentur in viginto tertio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod celebraverunt etc. se scire solummodo per auditum et non aliter lecto ipsi testi dicto capitulo diligenter per singula
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicti fratres celebraverunt missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit quia non vidit
Cumignanus	Et super viginto tertio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item celebraverunt etc.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres celebraverunt missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum ut audivit diciet aliter nescit
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod audivit dici quod celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum frequenter in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super illis duobus articulis qui sic incipiunt. Item quod celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum etc.

Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit quod dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit quia non interfuit
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis se nescire aliquid super viginto tertio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod celebraverunt et celebrant missas etc
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod dicti fratres celebraverunt missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item quod celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum etc.

#### *CAPITULUM 24*

They receive donations from the parishioners to the detriment of the parish churches

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto quarto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod receperunt etc. Dixit se nicil scire nisi per auditum set credit firmiter vera esse omnia ea que in dicto capitulo continentur.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit quod credit quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a predictis parrochianis in preiudicium predictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit.
Simon	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit
Canonus	Item dixit quod audivit dici quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit nisi per auditum
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicti fratres recipiunt et receperunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis i preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit quia numquam interfuit.
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod numquam vidit ipse testis dictos fratres recipere oblationes a parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium ipsarum ecclesiarum
Cumignanus	Et super viginto quarto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod receperunt etc
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod receperunt et recipiunt oblationes etc. Sibi testi diligenter lecto per singula
Gerardus	Et quod receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
Presbiter	Et quod recipiunt et receperunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in



Iacobus	preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item quod receperunt et recipiunt oblationes etc. Dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi diligenter
Aço Medicus	Item dixit quod bene audivit dici quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit.
Iohannes de Christiana	Et super viginto quarto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod receperunt etc. lectis ipsi testi diligenter.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicti fratres recipiunt et receperunt oblationes a parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium ipsarum et aliter nescit quia non vidit nec interfuit ubi reciperent.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod receperunt et recipiunt oblationes etc. Lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter

## *CAPITULUM 25*

San Michele and San Faustino before the denunciation and now are directly subject to the cathedral of Piacenza

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto quinto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod ecclesiis etc. Dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicta ecclesiis sancti michaelis est subiecta in mediate capitulo ecclesie maioris placentie et aliter nescit. De dicta ecclesia sancti faustini dixit se nichil scire.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item credit ipse testis quod ecclesia michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis fuerunt et sunt hodie subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie et aliter nescit.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti Michele et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie.
Canonus	Item dixit quod audivit dici ipse testis quod ecclesie sancti michaelis et sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie et aliter nescit nisi per auditum.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis in mediate fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie.
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit ea que in viginto sexto capitulo continentur et que in viginto capitulo continentur esse vera set nescit bene veritatem pro certo lectis sibi dictis capitulis per singula diligenter
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo ecclesie placentie
Cumignanus	Et super viginto quinto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare

	quod ecclesia sancti Michaelis etc.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante quam dicti fratres cepissent facere dedicari in dicto loco fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie
Gerardus	Item dixit quod bene credit quod ecclesie sancti michaelis et ecclesie sancti faustini predictae ante tempus denuntiationis dicti novi operis immediate fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis in mediate fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit quod credit quod ecclesie sancti michaelis et sancti faustini ante quam dicti fratres incepissent facere edificari in dicto loco sunt subiecte capitulo maioris ecclesie placentia.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis in mediate sunt subiecte et fuerunt capitulo ecclesie placentia
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto quinto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod ecclesia sancti Michaeli etc.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Super viginto quinto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod ecclesia etc.
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae antiquitus fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentia
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene [credit?] quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis fuerunt et sunt subiecte hodie capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie.

## CAPITULUM 26

Santa Maria de Cario, San Nicolò, San Iacobo de Supramuro and San Donino have certain sundays where they have to attend the cathedral for mass

Anonymous	Item dixit super viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie etc. quod tam ecclesie sancte marie de ccario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti donini quam alie ecclesie placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina ut audivit dici et aliter nescit. Et vidit quinque rectores dctorum ecclesiarum ire ad predictam ecclesiam maiorem ad divina officia.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatem placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis de adventu et de quadragesima et singulis diebus solemprubus ire ad ecclesia maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia et tenentur ire ad omnis processions que sunt per capitulum ecclesie placentie et ad crisma et ad batismum.

Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam Sancti Nicolay de Filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti domini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire d ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus divinam festinas ad maiorem ecclesiam venire ad celebrandum divina officia.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod tam ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay filii sancti Iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia et aliter nescit.
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit ea que in viginto sexto capitulo continentur et que in viginto capitulo continentur esse vera set nescit bene veritatem pro certo lectis sibi dictis capitulis per singula diligenter
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit bene quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina
Cumignanus	Et super viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie etc. Lectis sibi testi omnibus predictis capitulis per ordinem dixit se nichil scire.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipset testis quod credit et audivit dici que tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti nicolay de filiis agadis et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quod alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie singulis diebus dominicis et festivis tenentur venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis se nescire bene super hiis que continentur in viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie etc
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
Iohannes de Christiana	Et super viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie etc. Se nichil scire lectis ipsis capitulis ipsi testi diligenter.
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Et super viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie etc. dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis ipsis capituli sibi diligenter.
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte

	marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit quod bene credit quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancti iacobi de supramuro quam alie ecclesie civitate placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam minorum ad celebrandum divina officia.

## *CAPITULUM 27*

The church is so close to the parish churches that the loud voices, sound of the bells and services disturb those churches' services

Anonymous	Item dixit super viginto septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus est ita prope etc. quod voces predictorum fratrum que admittuntur in dicto loco et sonus campane dictorum fratrum nocent predictis ecclesiis.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est ita propter dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que adveneantur ibi et propter sonum campane officiis que celebrantur in dicto loco novo impediuntur et turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et per sonum campane et in officiis quem dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et turbantur officia divina in dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod auditur dici quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis quam dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et penitus turbantur officia divina in dictis ecclesiis aliter nescit nisi per auditum.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis pro bene credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco celebrantur impediunt a penitus tubat officia divina in dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit ea que in viginto septimo capitulo continentur quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus etc. Sibi testi lecto per singula diligenter
Antolinus	Item dixit quod credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictis capitulis quod propter sonum campane et propter voces que admittuntur in officiis quo in dicto loco celebrantur turbantur et impediuntur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis ecclesiis sancte marie et sancti faustini
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur ibi et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco celebrantur impediuntur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas et propter sonum campane et in officiis

	que in dicto loco novo celebrantur in aliquo turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis et non penitus.
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas ecclesias et quod propter voces altas que ad ibi amittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco celebrantur impediuntur et turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod auditur dici a presbiteris dictarum ecclesiarum quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et turbantur penitus officia divina in dictis ecclesiis
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis super illo capitulo viginto septimo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas etc. dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod sonus campane fratrum que est in dicto loco noceat officiis que fiunt in dictis ecclesiis et aliud noluit dicere ipse testis super ipso capitulo sibi lecto diligenter.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis ut credit dictus testis et aliter nescit.
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit bene quod sonus campane que est in dicto loco et voces que emittuntur in officiis que celebrantur in dicto loco noceant officiis que fiunt in dictis capellis et aliud noluit dicere super ipso capitulo
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	Item dixit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que emittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco celebrantur impediuntur et penitus turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis.
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter altas voces que emittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et penitus turbantur officia divina in dictis ecclesiis
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis se volle aliquid dicere super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus est ita prope etc.

## *CAPITULUM 28*

On account of the new building these churches have lost parishioners who would otherwise offer donations, leaving the churches poor

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis quod propter dictam edificium novum dicte capelle habent... de ipso capitulo sibi diligenter per singula lecto quod sic incipit. Item quod propter dictum edificium novum etc.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit quod bene credit quod propter dictum edificium novum dicte capelle amiserunt plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus admisit gravem substinent lesionem an dicte capelle sint pauperes et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
Simon	Item dixit quod bene credit quod propter dictum novum edicium

	amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos et quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sint pauperes et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici per propter edificium dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas horas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sunt pauperes et aliter nescit nisi per auditum.
Ubertus Reddemanus	skipped
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit bene firmiter ea que in viginto octavo capitulo
Antolinus	Item dixit quod bene credit quod propter dictum edificium novum dicte capelle amiserunt plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro viis et mortuis de quibus amissis sustinent gravem lesionem cum dicte sint pauperes capelle
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod propter edificium factum in dicto loco dicte capelle amiserunt plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod propter dictum novum edificium amiserunt predicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas bonas oblationes pro vivis eet mortuis de quibus habent magnam lesionem cum ipse parrochie sint pauperes
Gerardus	Item quod propter dictum edificium novum amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vicis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sint pauperes
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit quod audivit dici a predictis presbiteris et propter dictum novum edificum amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sint paupere.
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod propter dictum edificium amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum ipse capelle sint pauperes.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod propter dictum edificium novum amiserunt predicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum ipse capelle sint pauperes
Iohannes de Christiana	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod propter dictu edificium novum etc
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto octavo capitulo quod sic incipit: Item quod propter dictum edificum novum amiserunt dicte capelle etc. dixit quod bene credit quod dicte capelle propter dictum edificum amiserunt plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant oblationes pro

	vivis et mortuis.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod propter dictum novum edificium amiserunt dicte capelle etc. Lectis ipsi testi diligenter quia nescit bene veritatem de hiis que in dictis articulis continentur

### *CAPITULUM 29*

The churches should also have been receiving donations from the houses the Franciscans destroyed on their site

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto non capitulo quod incipit...
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit quod credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere ab illis predicta qui pro tempore habuissent in domibus predictis que errant in dicto loco et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod capelle predictae debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in dictis domibus quas dicti fratres dicuntur destruxisse in dicto loco et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicte capelle sancte marie de cario et sancti faustini et sancti Jacobi debebant et debent recipere predicta qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis quas destruxerunt fratres predictis in dicto loco.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis quas destruxerunt dicti fratres in loco predicto et aliter nescit.
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et in viginto nono capitulo continentur esse ver lectis ipsis capitulis dicto desti diligenter que capitula sic incipiunt. Item quod propter dictum edificium etc. Item quod dicte capelle etc
Antolinus	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis et quas dicti fratres dicuntur destruxisse
Cumignanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit bene quod dicte capelle sive ecclesie debebant recipere et debent predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitasset in domibus predictis quas dicuntur dicti fratres destruxisse in dicto loco.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus que essent in dicto loco
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis que errant in dicto loco.
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus que errant vel essent in dicto loco
Rolandus Zumignanus	Et quod dicte capelle debebant recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus que essent in dicto loco
Aço Medicus	Et quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis quas destruxerunt predicti fratres in dicto loco

Iohannes de Christiana	Et super viginto nono quod sic incipit. Item quod dicte capelle etc. se nichil scire pro certo lectis ipsis capitulis ipsi testi diligenter
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicte capelle debebant recipere oblationes ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus que errant in dicto loco.
Iohannes Zanarellus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit si dictus locus esset accusatus sicut iam fuit quod sacerdotes dictarum ecclesiarum haberent oblationes pulures et caritates solitas quas nunc non habent nec habere possunt quia dictus locus non habitatur per vicinos et aliuss noluit dicere ipse testis super illo articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod dicte capelle etc.

### *CAPITULUM 30*

#### *Vox et Fama*

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit quod bene credit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
Simon	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod omnibus predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est upblica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Antolinus	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie.
Cumignanus	Super vero sequentibus capitulis sibi testi per singula diligenter lectis dixit se nichil scire.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitate predicta
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
Iohannes de	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super omnibus aliis sequentibus



Christiana	capitulis lectis ipsi testi singulariter et per ordinem nisi quod audivit dici quod vicarius episcopi placentie excommunicavit fratres minore
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie.
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

### *CAPITULUM 31*

#### *Publica et Notoria*

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem predicta
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item bene credit quod predicta et singula fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod predicti et q0 libet predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie et aliter nescit.
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem predicta.
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta
Antolinus	Item dixit quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie
Cumignanus	Super vero sequentibus capitulis sibi testi per singula diligenter lectis dixit se nichil scire.
Roffinus de Andito	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod credit quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta
Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem predicta
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de	skipped

Berzano	
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulo quod sic incipit: Item quod predicta et singula etc. dixit se nescire quod sint publica et notoria tamquam credit.
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

### *CAPITULUM 32*

The vicar of the bishop of Piacenza cited the guardian and friars on several occasions

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto primo capitulo quod incipit. Item intendit probare. (numbering is off)
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus Iohannes etc.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto secundo et triginto tertio capitulis sibi diligenter per singula lectis dixit quod bene audivit dici que in dictis capitulis nescit nisi per auditum.
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulis que sic incipiuntur. Item intendit probare dictus Iohannes etc.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici et quod bene credit quod vicarius Episcopi placentie fecit citari diversis diebus Guardianum et fratres ordinis fratrum minorum civitatem placentie.
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod vicarius episcopi placentie fecit citari ter diversis diebus Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum civitatem placentie
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus Iohannes procuratore nomine etc.
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus Iohannes procurator procuratio nomine pro predictis etc
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod omnia ea que continentur in triginto secundo triginto trio triginto quarto triginto quinto triginto sexto et triginto septimo capitulis esse vera et credit ea esse vera et aliter nescit quia non interfuit primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem.
Rolandus Zumignanus	Item super triginto secundo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus Iohannes procurator etc.
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod vicarius episcopi placentie fecit citari diversis diebus Guardianum et fratres ordinis fratrum minorum de placentia
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped

Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	Item dixit ipse testis super omnibus aliis sequentibus capitulis lectis sibi testi diligenter et per ordinem quod bene credit quod vicarius domini episcopi placentie fecit citari diversis diebus Guardianum et fratres ordinis minorum civitatem placentia ut venirent responsuri procuratori predictorum prepositi et capituli placentiae et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum nuper novo edificio et quod ipsi Guardianus et fratres noluerunt comparere et quod dictus vicarius reputavit eos contumaces et eos excommunicavit et fecit eos denunciari excommunicatos publice per civitatem placentie et ipse met testis denunciavit plures excommunicatos dictos Guardianum et fratres aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis.
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

### CAPITULUM 33

They were cited to come to respond to the procurator and chapter of Piacenza about their new construction

Anonymous	Et super triginto secundo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecit etc.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Et super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecit eos citari etc.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto secundo et triginto tertio capitulis sibi diligenter per singula lectis dixit quod bene audivit dici que in dictis capitulis nescit nisi per auditum.
Canonus	Item quod fecit eos citare etc
Ubertus Reddemanus	Et quod fecit eos citari cum diversis diebus ut venirent responsive procuratori prepositi et capituli placentie et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum super novo edificio quod faciebant construi in preiudicium ipsorum de quo edificio agitur
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod fecit eos citari ter diversis diebus ut venirent responsum pro civitatem predictorum propositi et capituli placentie et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum super novo edificio quod faciebant construi an preiudicium ipsorum de quo edificio agitur
Antolinus	Et super capitulo sequenti quod sic incipit. Item quod fecit eos citari cum etc
Cumignanus	see <i>capitulum trigesimum</i>
Roffinus de Andito	see <i>capitulum trigesimum secundum</i>
Gerardus	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecit eas citari etc.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod omnia ea que continentur in triginto secundo triginto trio triginto quarto triginto quinto triginto sexto et triginto septimo capitulis esse vera et credit ea esse vera et aliter nescit quia non interfuit primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem.
Rolandus	Et super omnibus aliis sequentibus capitulis lectis ipsi singulariter et per

Zumignanus	ordinem dixit ipse testis se nichil scire nisi quod audivit seme in ecclesia maiori in qua erat ipse testis quod fratres minores fuerunt nuntiati excommunicati.
Aço Medicus	Et quod audivit dici quod fecit citari eos plures ut venirent responsuri procuratori prepositi et capituli placentiae et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum super novo edificio quod faciebant construi in preiudicium ipsorum de quo edificio agitur.
Iohannes de Christiana	see <i>capitulum trigesimum primum</i>
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	see <i>capitulum vigintum octavum</i>
Albertus	see <i>capitulum trigesimum secundum</i>
Iohannes Zanarellus	see <i>capitulum trigesimum</i>

### CAPITULUM 34

The Guardian and friars were cited

Anonymous	Et super triginto tertis quid sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus etc.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Et super alio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus etc
Simon	Capitulis que sic incipiunt. Item ... Guardianus
Canonus	Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt etc.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt citari etc
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt citari etc.
Antolinus	Et super alio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt etc.
Cumignanus	see <i>capitulum trigesimum</i>
Roffinus de Andito	see <i>capitulum trigesimum secundum</i>
Gerardus	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt etc.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod omnia ea que continentur in triginto secundo triginto trio triginto quarto triginto quinto triginto sexto et triginto septimo capitulis esse vera et credit ea esse vera et aliter nescit quia non interfuit primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem.
Rolandus Zumignanus	see <i>capitulum trigesimum tertium</i>
Aço Medicus	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt citari etc.
Iohannes de	skipped

Christiana	
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	see <i>capitulum trigesimum secundum</i>
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

### *CAPITULUM 35*

The Guardian and friars contemptuously did not appear before the vicar

Anonymous	Et super triginto quarto quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus etc.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Et super sequenti capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare etc
Simon	Item p(re) non comparverunt etc
Canonus	Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres per se etc.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres contempserunt comparere coram dicto vicariis contumaciter
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres venire coram dicto vicario
Antolinus	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres per se etc.
Cumignanus	See <i>capitulum trigesimum</i>
Roffinus de Andito	See 32
Gerardus	Et super illos capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres per se etc.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod omnia ea que continentur in triginto secundo triginto trio triginto quarto triginto quinto triginto sexto et triginto septimo capitulis esse vera et credit ea esse vera et aliter nescit quia non interfuit primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem.
Rolandus Zumignanus	Et super omnibus aliis sequentibus capitulis lectis ipsi singulariter et per ordinem dixit ipse testis se nichil scire nisi quod audivit seme in ecclesia maiori in qua erat ipse testis quod fratres minores fuerunt nuntiati excommunicati.
Aço Medicus	Et recusaverunt compare contumaciter coram ipso vicario
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	see 32
Iohannes	skipped

Zanarellus	
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### *CAPITULUM 36*

Neither they nor someone on their behalf appeared before the vicar

Anonymous	Et super triginto quinto quod sic incipit. Item quod non comparverunt etc.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Et super alio sequenti capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius etc.
Simon	Dixit p(ro) de hiis que in dictis capitulos... diligenter sibi per singulo
Canonus	Item quod non comparverunt etc.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Et quod non comparverunt nec ipsi nec aliquis pro eis coram dicto vicario
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod non comparuerunt nec ipsi nec aliquis pro eis coram dicto vicario
Antolinus	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod non comparverunt etc
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Et super illos capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres per se etc.
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod omnia ea que continentur in triginto secundo triginto trio triginto quarto triginto quinto triginto sexto et triginto septimo capitulis esse vera et credit ea esse vera et aliter nescit quia non interfuit primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem.
Rolandus Zumignanus	see 33
Aço Medicus	Et quod non comparent nec ipsi nec aliquis pro eis coram vicario ssOt.
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	see 32
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

## CAPITULUM 37

On account of this, the vicar held the Guardian and friars in contempt

Anonymous	Et super triginto sexto quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius etc. Dixit se super omnibus predictis et singulis sibi diligenter per singula lectis nichil scire.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Et super sequenti capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare etc.
Simon	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dictas vicarius cepat predictum Guardianus et fratres contumaces.
Canonus	Item quod dictus vicarius etc. Dixit se nichil scire de hiis omnibus que in dictis capitulis continetur nisi per auditum diligenter sibi lectis pro singula.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Et quod dictus vicarius propter hoc reptuavit dictos fratres et Guardianus contumaces.
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod dictus vicarius per dictam contumaciam reputavit predictos Guardianum et fratres contumaces et eos excommunicavit propter dictam contumaciam. Et predicta scit solum per auditum et non aliter quia non interfuit predictis.
Antolinus	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius propter hoc etc. Lectis sibi testi dictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem dixit se nichil scire super eis
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Et quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius etc. Dixit ipse testis quod audivit dicit et t(er)dic ea que in dictis capitulis continentur vera esse et aliter nescit lectis sibi predictis capitulis diligenter per singula de verbo ad verbum
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod omnia ea que continentur in triginto secundo triginto trio triginto quarto triginto quinto triginto sexto et triginto septimo capitulis esse vera et credit ea esse vera et aliter nescit quia non interfuit primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem.
Rolandus Zumignanus	see 33
Aço Medicus	Et quod propter hoc dictus vicarius reputavit dictos Guardianum et fratres contumaces et aliter nescit de predictis quia non interfuit
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	see 32
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

## CAPITULUM 38

On account of their contempt, the vicar had the Guardian and friars publicly denounced excommunicated in the city of Piacenza

Anonymous	Item dixit super triginto septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare etc. Quod audivit dici quod dictus vicarius excommunicavit predictos Guardianum et fratres et aliter nescit.
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	skipped
Simon	Item dixit quod dicere vicarius propter dictam contumaciam innodavit excomunis s0nia in predictos Guardianum et fratres
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis super aliis capitulis sequentibus que sic incipiuntur. Item intendit probare quod dictus etc.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus vicarius propter dictam contumaciam predictos Guardianum et fratres excommunicatis s0nia in nodivitur
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus vicarius fecit predictus Guardianum et fratres publice denunciati excommunicatos per civitatem placentie
Antolinus	Item super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod dictus vicarius propter dictam contumaciam etc.
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis dictus vicarius propter contumaciam excommunicavit dictos Guardianum et fratres ut audivit dici
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit quod dictus vicarius propter contumaciam dictos Guardianum et fratres excommunicationis finam in vodavit
Rolandus Zumignanus	see 33
Aço Medicus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus vicarius propter dictam contumaciam dictos Guardianum et fratres excommunicatis snia(?) innodavit
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	see 32
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped



# *CAPITULUM 39*

The vicar publicly denounced the Guardian and friars excommunicated through the city of Piacenza

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto octavo capitulo quid sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius fecit etc. quod audivit dici quod dictus vicarius fecit denuntiari excommunicatos predictos Guardianum et fratres et aliter nescit.
Anonymous A	skipped
Vincentius	Et super alio sequenti capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius fecit etc. Dixit ipse testis quod audivit dicere quod in dictis capitulis continentur et aliter nescit.
Simon	Item dixit quod predictus vicarius fecit publice denuntiari excommunicatos predictos Guardianum et fratres per civitatem placentie
Canonus	Item quod fuerunt denuntiati etc.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Et quod dictus vicarius predictos vicarium et fratres fecit publice denuntiari per civitatem excommunicatos placentie
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod fuerunt denuntiati excommunicati civitate predicta predicti Guardianis et fratres. Et predictae scit per auditum
Antolinus	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius fecit predictum Guardianum etc.
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Item dixit quod dictus vicarius fecit predictos Guardianum et fratres publice denuntiari excommunicatos per civitatem placentie
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod dictus vicarius fecit predictos Guardianum et fratres publice denuntiari excommunicatos per civitatem placentiam
Rolandus Zumignanus	see 33
Aço Medicus	Et quod dictus vicarius fecit publice predictos Guardianum et fratres denuntiari excommunicatos per civitatem placentie
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	see 32
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

## CAPITULUM 40

The vicar had them denounced in the churches of Piacenza

Anonymous	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto nono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fuerunt denunciati etc. Dixit quod fratres minores fuerunt denunciati excommunicati in dicta ecclesia sancte marie de carie
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres predicti fuerunt denunciati excommunicati in civitatem placentie et ipse met denunciavit excommunicatos
Simon	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati per civitatem placentie
Canonus	Item quod dictus vicarius etc. Dixit ipse testis quod ipse dominus vicarius episcopi placentie misit ecclesiis placentie quod Guardianus et fratres minores de placentie denunciarentur excommunicati per ecclesias suas et ipse met testis denunciavit ipsos excommunicatos plures et aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis sibi diligenter lectis per singula.
Ubertus Reddemanus	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati per civitatem predictam
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Et quod quia ipse testis audiente pronuntiati fuerunt excommunicati in ecclesia sua duodecim apostolorum in que ..t(ur) ipse testis et hoc ex precepto dicti vicari qui misit illis de dicta ecclesia quod pronuntiarent excommunicatos Guardianum et fratres predictos quando audient campanas ecclesie maioris et sancti antonini placentie
Antolinus	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fuerunt denunciati etc. Lectis sibi testi predictis capitulis singulariter et diligenter per ordinem dixit quod audivit dici quod vicarius episcopi placentie excommunicavit Guardianum et fratres ordinis minorum de placentie et quod fecit eos denunciari excommunicatos in civitatem placentie et nichil aliud scit super ipsis capitulis
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati in civitate predicta
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati in civitate predicta
Rolandus Zumignanus	see 33
Aço Medicus	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati per civitatem predictam
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	see 32
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

## CAPITULUM 41

In spite of their excommunication, the friars continue to celebrate mass in the city of Piacenza

Anonymous	Et credit quod similiter fuerunt denunciati excommunicati ex alias ecclesias civitatibus placentie.
Anonymous A	skipped
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod contemptis dicta excommunicatione et dicta denuntiatione dicti fratres celebraverunt divina officia in civitate placentie.
Simon	Et quod contemptis predictis excommunicatis s0nia et denuntiatione celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentie
Canonus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres postquam denuntiatione celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentie
Ubertus Reddemanus	Et quod contemptis dictis excommunicatis s0nia et denuntiatione celebraverunt divina officia in civitatem placentie
Guillelmus de Vigolo	Item dixit quod audivit dici quod conceptis predictis excommunicatis sunt et denuntiatione dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant divina in civitate placentie
Antolinus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres postquam ipse testis audivit dici quod dictus vicarius excommunicavit eos et fecerat eos pronuntiari excommunicatos ipsi fratres celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentie set contempserunt vel non contempserunt noluit dicere aliquid ipse testis quia nescit utrum contempserunt vel non contempserunt.
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres postquam fuerunt sic denunciati excommunicati celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitate placentie
Presbiter Iacobus	Et quod conceptis predictis excomunis finam et denuntiatione celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentie
Rolandus Zumignanus	see 33
Aço Medicus	Et quod conceptis predictis excommunicatis siam et denuntiatione celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentia.
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	see 32
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

## CAPITULUM 42

### *Vox et Fama*

Anonymous	pages missing
Anonymous A	skipped
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis fuit et est in civitatem placentie publica vox et fama.
Simon	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Canonus	skipped
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Guillelmus de Vigolo	skipped
Antolinus	skipped
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	skipped
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	skipped
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

## CAPITULUM 43

### *Publica et Notoria*

Anonymous	skipped
Anonymous A	pages missing
Vincentius	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie.
Simon	Item credit quod omnia predicta singula et p(ro)...p(re)ictorum sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie

Canonus	skipped
Ubertus Reddemanus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta
Guillelmus de Vigolo	skipped
Antolinus	skipped
Cumignanus	skipped
Roffinus de Andito	skipped
Gerardus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta
Presbiter Iacobus	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate placentie
Rolandus Zumignanus	skipped
Aço Medicus	Et quod predicta omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria per totam civitatem predictam Et hoc scit quia publice dicitur per totam civitatem predictam sic esse et aliud noluit dicere ipse testis super ipsis capitulis cum credat sufficere ea que supradixit in consimilibus.
Iohannes de Christiana	skipped
Magister Iacobus de Berzano	skipped
Albertus	skipped
Iohannes Zanarellus	skipped

## Appendix E: Capituli Summaries

The first two *capituli* introduced the logistical information about the site at the center of the controversy. Opening the testimony of each witness, these first two statements identified the site as the former property of *Dominus* Ubertino de Andito, located within the confines of *via de supramuro* and a *via publica* that ran between the Cathedral and the house of the *podestà*. The witnesses also identified up to six parishes (*Sanctus Nicolaus de Filiis Agadis*, *Sancta Maria de Cario*, *Sanctus Iacobus de Supramuro* and *Sanctus Faustinus* are almost always included; *Sanctus Michaelis* and *Sanctus Doninus* are mentioned less frequently) into which the Franciscan complex had been inserted. In *capituli* 3-4, the witnesses indicated their perceptions of how long the site had been located within the boundaries of the parishes they had mentioned. With the location firmly established, the fifth *capitulum* introduced the friars, who, almost all the witnesses agreed, arrived at the site about four years earlier in the month of June.

*Capitulum* 6 recounted the friars' denunciation with the throwing of three stones. *Capitulum* 7 named individual friars and builders who were present at the denunciation. *Capitulum* 8 isolated the activity of the builders at the time of the denunciation. In *capitulum* 9, the witnesses testified that construction continued after the friars were denounced. *Capitulum* 10 established that the friars' pursuits in defiance of the Cathedral Chapter continued up to the date of the inquest. In *Capitulum* 11, the witnesses specified the ways the friars' new convent was harmful to the parish churches.

*Capituli* 12 & 13 were about *vox et fama* (gossip) and that the friars' actions were *publica et notoria* in the city.

*Capitulum* 14 referred to the existence of the papal privilege granted to the Bishop and Chapter by which no one was allowed to build a church in Piacenza without their permission. *Capituli* 15 and 16 confirmed that the Franciscans were indeed building in defiance of that privilege. *Capituli* 17-19 described the structures the Franciscans built on their new site after their denunciation. These three *capituli* divided the buildings into those where the friars celebrated mass (*capitulum* 17), their other conventual buildings (*capitulum* 18), and cloister walls (*muros ad modum claustram*) (*capitulum* 19).

*Capituli* 20-24 covered the effect on parishes when members of the community abandoned them for the friars' church. *Capitulum* 20 established that the parishioners had ceased going to mass at their parish churches, attending instead the mass at the friars' new building. *Capitulum* 21 related that on account of parishioner defection, they had ceased to offer donations to their parish churches. *Capitulum* 22 took up the same charge from the opposite standpoint, establishing that the friars, illegally celebrating mass in their church, received the parishioners of the nearby churches. The fact that the friars specifically celebrated wedding masses for the parishioners was the topic of *capitulum* 23. Finally, *capitulum* 24 explained that in their reception of donations, the friars harmed the parish churches.

*Capituli* 25-26 explained how the parish churches involved in the dispute figured into the hierarchical structure of the Church in Piacenza. Specifically, the churches of Sanctus Michaelis and Sanctus Faustinus were *subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie* (*capitulum* 25), while the churches Sancta Maria de Cario, Sanctus Nicolaus de Filiis Agadis, Sanctus Iacobus de Supramuro and Sanctus Doninus, like all other churches in Piacenza, were required to attend mass on certain feast days and Sundays at the Cathedral (*capitulum* 26). In *capitulum* 27, the witnesses almost uniformly stated that the friars' convent was so close to the other churches that their bells and loud voices deeply disturbed the services going on in those churches. *Capituli* 28 and 29 outlined the two major ways the parishes lost tithe-bearing parishioners: those who willfully stopped attending and those whose homes were torn down by the friars in order to build their convent.

*Capituli* 30 & 31 were again about *vox et fama* and that the gossip was *publica et notoria*.

The last section, *capituli*, 32-41, described the process of excommunication against the Franciscans in meticulous detail. Not all of the witnesses reached this point in their interrogation processes, but those who did were explicit in their condemnation of the hubris of the Order in ignoring the charges of the Bishop that resulted in their excommunication and denunciation.

*Capituli* 42 & 43 were the last two times the charges of *vox et fama* and *publica et notoria* were repeated.

## Appendix F: Capituli by Witness

Anonymous 1, unknown occupation

1-17	document begins mid-testimony
18	... alias domos in quibus faciunt alias officinas.
19	Et quod fecerunt constru... in dicto loco quasdam alias muras ad modum claustrum.
20-43	pages missing

Anonymous 2, unknown occupation

1	Pages missing
2	Pages missing
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11	Pages missing
12	Pages missing
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie
14	Item dixit ipse testis super quartodecimo capitulo sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus partem pro capitulo etc. Dixit se nescire nisi quod audivit que capitulum ecclesiam placentie habere .. privilegium in quo continentur quod nullus adebatur construere ecclesiam sine consensu ipsius capituli et non aliud scire doliis que in dicto capitulo continentur per diligenter per singula lecto
15-16	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificare fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie preiudicium rectoribus et eis contradicentibus et ... fratres et alias nescit de hiis continentur in quinto decimo et sextodecimo capitulo sibi diligenter per singula lexit.
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres postquam fuerat eis denuntiatio fecerunt construere in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate quidam domos in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant.
18	Et quod fecerunt fieri in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas.
19	Item dixit super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alios muros ad modum claustrum Dixit se nichil scire quia non fuit in dicto loco postquam dicti fratres ab edificaverunt.



20	skipped
21	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant oblationes offerre dictis ecclesiis
22	illegible
23	Super viginto tertio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod celebraverunt etc. Dixit se nichil scire nisi per auditum.
24	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto quarto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod receperunt etc. Dixit se nichil scire nisi per auditum set credit firmiter vera esse omnia ea que in dicto capitulo continentur.
25	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto quinto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod ecclesiis etc. Dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicta ecclesiis sancti michaelis est subiecta in mediate capitulo ecclesie maioris placentie et aliter nescit. De dicta ecclesia sancti faustini dixit se nichil scire.
26	Item dixit super viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie etc. quod tam ecclesie sancte marie del ccario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti donini quam alie ecclesie placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina ut audivit dici et aliter nescit. Et vidit quinque rectores dictorum ecclesiarum ire ad predictam ecclesiam maiorem ad divina officia.
27	Item dixit super viginto septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus est ita prope etc. quod voces predictorum fratrum que admittuntur in dicto loco et sonus campane dictorum fratrum nocent predictis ecclesiis.
28	Item dixit ipse testis quod propter dictam edificium novum dicte capelle habent... de ipso capitulo sibi diligenter per singula lecto quod sic incipit. Item quod propter dictum edificium novum etc.
29	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto non capitulo quod incipit...
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
31	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem predicta
32	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto primo capitulo quod incipit. Item intendit probare. (numbering is off)
33	Et super triginto secundo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecit etc.
34	Et super triginto tertis quid sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus etc.
35	Et super triginto quarto quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus etc.
36	Et super triginto quinto quod sic incipit. Item quod non comparverunt etc.
37	Et super triginto sexto quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius etc. Dixit se super omnibus predictis et singulis sibi diligenter per singula lectis nichil scire.
38	Item dixit super triginto septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare etc. Quod audivit dici quod dictus vicarius excommunicavit predictos Guardianum et fratres et aliter nescit.
39	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto octavo capitulo quid sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius fecit etc. quod audivit dici quod dictus vicarius fecit denunciari excommunicatos predictos Guardianum et fratres et aliter nescit.
40	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto nono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fuerunt denunciati etc. Dixit quod fratres minores fuerunt denunciati excommunicati in dicta

	ecclesia sancte marie de carie
41	Et credit quod similiter fuerunt denunciati excommunicati ex alias ecclesias civitatibus placentie.
42	skipped
43	skipped

*Presbiter Vincentius, minister of San Giorgio*

1	Quod locus in quo consuevit domus Dominus Ubertinus de Andito qui est positus infra hos confines videlicet viam de Supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maior ad domum Domini Raynaldi Salimbeni in qua moratur potestas Communis Placentie est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum Sancti Faustini Sancti Iacobi Sancte Marie de Cario et Sancti Nicolay de Filiis Agadis
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus infra viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesiis maior usque ad domum Domini Raynaldi predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites ... predictarum parrochiarum ipsarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt xx et triginta
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicti Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt de mense iunii prximi preteriti.
6	Illegible
7	Item dixit ipse testis quod pro...capitulo ut credit et dixit quod vidit instrumentum d..dem...instrumenti
8	Item dixit ipse testis quod postquam audivit dici quod denuntiatur fuerat fratribus ne procederent in dicto edificio ipse testis vidit quod magistri in dicto loco sufrenabant muros arcumque ibi factos.
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod ab eo tempore citra quo audivit dici quod denuntiatur fuerat ut predictum est a dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco.
10	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opera spreca dicta denuntiatione
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum novum opus est factu et fit in preiudicium capituli ecclesie placentie et archipresbiteri ecclesie sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum
12	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit in civitate placentie publica vox et fama.
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate placentie
14	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit esse concessum privilegium capitulo ecclesia maioris placentie ante quam fratres predicta inciperent dictum novum opus ne cui liceat infra parrochias ecclesiarum ipsius capituli construi ecclesiam vel oratorium sine assensu diocesani episcopi vel capituli. Et dixit quod ipse mot testis vidit privilegium et audivit ipsum legi et fuit factum tempore an lucii pape.
15-16	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et contradicenti dicto capitulo.

17	Item dixit quod testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi postquam audivit dici dictam denuntiationem factam fuisse domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium
18	Et fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
19	Et quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam alias muros ad modum claustrum.
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod parrochiani dictarum parrochiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
21	Et quod propter hoc parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
22	Item credit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictorum ecclesiarum ad divina et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
23	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod icti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit.
24	Item dixit quod credit quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a predictis parrochianis in preiudicium predictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit.
25	Item credit ipse testis quod ecclesia michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis fuerunt et sunt hodie subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie et aliter nescit.
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatem placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis de adventu et de quadragesima et singulis diebus solempribus ire ad ecclesia maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia et tenentur ire ad omnis processions que sunt per capitulum ecclesie placentie et ad crisma et ad baptismum.
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est ita propter dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que adveneantur ibi et propter sonum campane officiis que celebrantur in dicto loco novo imprediuntur et turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
28	Item dixit quod bene credit quod propter dictum edificium novum dicte capelle amiserunt plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus admisit gravem substinent lesionem an dicte capelle sint pauperes et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
29	Item dixit quod credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere ab illis predicta qui pro tempore habuissent in domibus predictis que errant in dicto loco et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
30	Item dixit quod bene credit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
31	Item bene credit quod predicta et singula fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie
32	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus Johannes etc.
33	Et super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecit eos citari etc.
34	Et super alio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus etc
35	Et super sequenti capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare etc
36	Et super alio sequenti capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius etc.
37	Et super sequenti capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare etc.
38	Skipped

39	Et super alio sequenti capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius fecit etc. Dixit ipse testis quod audivit dicere quod in dictis capitulis continentur et aliter nescit.
40	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres predicti fuerunt denunciati excommunicati in civitatem placentie et ipse met denunciavit excommunicatos
41	Item dixit ipse testis quod contemptis dicta excommunicatione et dicta denuntiatione dicti fratres celebraverunt divina officia in civitate placentie.
42	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis fuit et est in civitatem placentie publica vox et fama.
43	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie.

*Presbiter Simon, minister of San Pietro in Foro*

1	Quod ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancte marie de cario et sancti nicolo de filiis agadis et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini et sancti Michele
2	Item dixit quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque domus domini Raynaldi predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictis locus fuit et est situs infra limites predictarum parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem annie et iam sunt viginti
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt in mense iunii proximi preteriti.
6	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod denuntiaturum fuit fratribus cum tribus lapidibus ne procederent in dicto edificio per giudicum dicti capituli et audivit dici quod inde fuit factum instrumentum et nescit quis facerit ipsum et nichil aliud scit de dicto capitulo sibi diligenter per singula lecto.
7	Item super septimo articulo quie sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc. Dixit se nichil scire qui a non interfuit.
8	Item dixit quod audivit dici quod magistri edificantos in dicto loco tempore dicte nuntiationis facte ut audivit dici faciebantes muratori seu suffranari muros archumquaque ibi factes et aliter nescit.
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod sprete dicta denuntiatione dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco nulla prefata satisfatione predictis capitulo et archipresbitero et rectoribus dictarum ecclesiarum
10	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opere predicta nuntiatione conceptam.
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum opus seu edificium factum est et fit an preiudicium dictam capitulam archipresbiterum et vescovi dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum
12	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
13	Item dixit quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate placentie
14	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod capitulum ecclesie placentie hunc privilegium quod nullus audet nec debet facere ecclesiam in civitatem placentie sine assensu episcopi vel capituli placentie sed numquam vidit ipsum privilegium
15-	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco

16	sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus.
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres post dictam denuntiationem fecerunt construi domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium
18	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
19	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros ad modum claustri
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter dictum opus ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
21	Et quod propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis
22	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti domibus celebrantes receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
23	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum frequenter in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
24	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit
25	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti Michele et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiationis fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie.
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam Sancti Nicolay de Filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti domini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et per sonum campane et in officiis quem dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et turbantur officia divina in dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam
28	Item dixit quod bene credit quod propter dictum novum edicium amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos et quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus admissis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sint pauperes et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam.
29	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod capelle predictae debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in dictis domibus quas dicti fratres dicuntur destruxisse in dicto loco et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam
30	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
31	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod predicti et quod libet predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie et aliter nescit.
32-33	Item dixit ipse testis super triginto secundo et triginto tertio capitulis sibi diligenter per singula lectis dixit quod bene audivit dici que in dictis capitulis nescit nisi per auditum.
34	Capitulis que sic incipiunt. Item ... Guardianus
35	Item p(re) non comparverunt etc
36	Dixit p(ro) de hiis que in dictis capitulos... diligenter sibi per singulo
37	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dictas vicarius cepat predictum Guardianus et fratres contumaces.

38	Item dixit quod dicere vicarius propter dictam contumaciam innodavit excomunis sōnia in predictos Guardianum et fratres
39	Item dixit quod predictus vicarius fecit publice denunciari excommunicatos predictos Guardianum et fratres per civitatem placentie
40	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati per civitatem placentie
41	Et quod contemptis predictis excommunicatis sōnia et denuntiatione celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentie
42	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
43	Item credit quod omnia predicta singula et p(ro)...p(re)dictorum sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie

*Presbiter* Canonus, church of San Gervaso

1	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum sancte marie de cario sancti faustini et sancti iacobi
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti.
5	Item dixit quod bene scit quod Guardianus et fratres minores ordinis placentie ceperunt facere edificare in dicto loco set nescit qua die nec quo anno nec quo mense.
6	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod denuntiaturum fuit fratribus minoribus per syndicum capituli placentiam archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum ne ipsi fratres procederent in edificio incepto per eos. Dixit quod vidit instrumentum dicte denuntiationis et nescit bene tenere ipsius instrument...
7	Super capitulo pro sic incipit. Item quod... quia non interfuit dicte...
8	Super octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Dixit se nescire quia non interfuit dicte nuntiatione.
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod spreca dicta nuntiatione dictus Guardianus et fratres fuerunt procedi in dicto edificio. Et nescit si predicti satisdederint.
10	Item dixit ipse testis super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie etc. Dixit se nolle intromittere quia nichil sciebat ac sibi diligenter per singula lecto.
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum novum opus seu edificium factum est et fit in preiudicium ccapituli ecclesie placentie archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum
12	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentiam
14	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulo quarto decimo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator. Dixit se scire in dicto capitulo continentur solummodo per audietum et non aliter.
15-16	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco. Et dixit quod hoc fecerunt dicti fratres sōnii quod audivit dici sine assensu et voluntate

	episcopi et capituli placentie et eis contradicentibus
17	Item ipse testis quod dictu Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam nuntiationem domos in dicto loco in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant.
18	Et quod fecerunt consrui in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinae.
19	Et quod fecerunt construi quosdam alios muros ad modum claustru.
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
21	Et quod propter hoc parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per auditum.
22	Item dixit quod fratres dicti ordinis celebrantes in dictis domibus divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina s()m quod audivit dici et aliter nescit.
23	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicti fratres celebraverunt missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit nisi per auditum
24	Item dixit quod audivit dici quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit nisi per auditum
25	Item dixit quod audivit dici ipse testis quod ecclesie sancti michaelis et sancti faustini predicte ante tempus dicte nuntiationis fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie et aliter nescit nisi per auditum.
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitateme placentie tenentur singulis diebus divinam festinas ad maiorem ecclesiam venire ad celebrandum divina officia.
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et prpter sonum campane et in officii quam dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et penitus turbantur officia divina in dictis ecclesiis aliter nescit nisi per auditum.
28	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici per propter edificium dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas horas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amisis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sunt pauperes et aliter nescit nisi per auditum.
29	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicte capelle sancte marie de cario et sancti faustini et sancti Jacobi debebant et debent recipere predicta qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis quas destruxerunt fratres predictis in dicto loco.
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod omnibus predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
31	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie.
32	Item dixit ipset testis super capitulis que sic incipiuntur. Item intendit probare dictus Iohannes etc.
33	Item quod fecit eos citare etc
34	Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt etc.
35	Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres per se etc.

36	Item quod non comparverunt etc.
37	Item quod dictus vicarius etc. Dixit se nichil scire de hiis omnibus que in dictis capitulis continetur nisi per auditum diligenter sibi lectis pro singula.
38	Item dixit ipse testis super aliis capitulis sequentibus que sic incipiuntur. Item intendit probare quod dictus etc.
39	Item quod fuerunt denunciati etc.
40	Item quod dictus vicarius etc. Dixit ipse testis quod ipse dominus vicarius episcopi placentie misit ecclesiis placentie quod Guardianus et fratres minores de placentie denunciarentur excommunicati per ecclesias suas et ipse met testis denuntiavit ipsos excommunicatos plures et aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis sibi diligenter lectis per singula.
41	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres postquam denuntiatione celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentie
42	skipped
43	skipped

Ubertus Reddemanus, *clericus* San Protaso

1	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochias ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancti marie de cario
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiore usque ad domum domini raynaldi predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti et ... anni
5	Item dixit ipse testis ... anni sint quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco.
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23	Item dixit dictus testis quod ipse audivit dici bene credit quod dici fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum frequenter in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum.
24	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicti fratres recipiunt et receperunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis i preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
25	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte denuntiatiois in mediate fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecto capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie.
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod tam ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay filii sancti Iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia et aliter nescit.
27	Item dixit ipse testis pro bene credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco celebrantur impediunt a penitus tubat officia divina in dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit
28	skipped
29	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis quas destruxerunt dicti fratres in loco predicto et aliter nescit.
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie.
31	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem predicta.
32	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici et quod bene credit quod vicarius Episcopi placentie fecit citari diversis diebus Guardianum et fratres ordinis fratrum minorum civitatem placentie.
33	Et quod fecit eos citari cum diversis diebus ut venirent responsive procuratori prepositi et capituli placentie et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum super novo edificio quod faciebant construi in preiudicium ipsorum de quo edificio agitur
34	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt citari etc
35	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres contempserunt comparere coram dicto vicario contumaciter
36	Et quod non comparverunt nec ipsi nec aliquis pro eis coram dicto vicario
37	Et quod dictus vicarius propter hoc reptuavit dictos fratres et Guardianus contumaces.
38	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus vicarius propter dictam contumaciam predictos Guardianum et fratres excommunicatis s <sup>o</sup> nia in nodivitur
39	Et quod dictus vicarius predictos vicarium et fratres fecit publice denunciari per civitatem excommunicatos placentie
40	Et quod fuerunt deuntiati excommunicati per civitatem predictam
41	Et quod contemptis dictis excommunicatis s <sup>o</sup> nia et denuntiatione celebraverunt divina officia in civitatem placentie
42	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie

43	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta
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*Frater Guillelmus de Vigolo, canonicus of Dodici Apostoli*

1	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti michaelis sancti Nicolay de Filiis agadis et sancte marie de cario
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est situs infra limites dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et viginti et triginta quadraginta et quinquaginta et centum ani sunt et plus.
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicti Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificare in dicto loco fuerunt quatuor anni de mense iunii proximi preteriti.
6	Item dixit ipse testis quod denuntiatio fuit fratribus minoribus de placentia per procuratorem seu syndicum capituli placentie archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum ne ipsi fratres procederent nec procedere deberent in dicto Edificio. Et hoc scit ipse testis per unum instrumentum quod vidit et audivit legi et aliter nescit.
7	Item dixit ipse testis super septimo et octavo capitulo que sic incipiuntur. Item quod tempore dicte denuntiationis facte etc
8	Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Dixit ipse testis se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit dicte nuntiationi sibi predictis capitulis diligenter per singula lectis
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod post dictam denuntiationem dicti fratres et Guardianus fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco nulla prestita suas da... capitulo archipresbitero et rectoribus dictarum ecclesiarum
10	Item dixit ipse testis quod hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opere predicta nuntiatione concepta
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit firmiter quod dictum novum edificium seu opus factum est et fit in preiudicium dictorum capituli archipresbiteri et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum
12	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria per civitatem placentie
14	Item dixit ipse testis super quartodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probre dictus procurator etc. Dixit se nichil scire nisi per auditum sibi per singula diligenter.
15-16	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificari ceperunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentini in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus.
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam nuntiationem in dicto loco domos in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant

18	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
19	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
21	Et quod propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant oblatinos offerre dictis ecclesiis
22	Item dixit dictus testis quod fratres dictis ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
23	Item dixit ipse testis ea que continentur in viginto tertio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod celebraverunt etc. se scire solummodo per auditum et non aliter lecto ipsi testi dicto capitulo diligenter per singula
24	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit quia numquam interfuit.
25- 26	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit ea que in viginto sexto capitulo continentur et que in viginto capitulo continentur esse vera set nescit bene veritatem pro certo lectis sibi dictis capitulis per singula diligenter
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit ea que in viginto septimo capitulo continentur quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus etc. Sibi testi lecto per singula diligenter
28	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit bene firmiter ea que in viginto octavo capitulo
29	Et in viginto nono capitulo continentur esse ver lectis ipsis capitulis dicto desti diligenter que capitula sic incipiunt. Item quod propter dictum edificium etc. Item quod dicte capelle etc
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est upblica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
31	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta
32	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod vicarius episcopi placentie fecit citari ter diversis diebus Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum civitatem placentie
33	Et quod fecit eos citari ter diversis diebus ut venirent responsum pro civitatem predictorum propositi et capituli placentie et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum super novo edificio quod faciebant construi an preiudicium ipsorum de quo edificio agitur
34	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt citari etc.
35	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres venire coram dicto vicario
36	Et quod non comparuerunt nec ipsi nec aliquis pro eis coram dicto vicario
37	Et quod dictus vicarius per dictam contumaciam reputavit predictos Guardianum et fratres contumaces et eos excommunicavit propter dictam contumaciam. Et predicta scit solum per auditum et non aliter quia non interfuit predictis.
38	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus vicarius fecit predictus Guardianum et fratres publice denunciati excommunicatos per civitatem placentie
39	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati civitate predicta predicti Guardianis et fratres. Et predicta scit per auditum
40	Et quod quia ipse testis audiente pronuntiati fuerunt excommunicati in ecclesia sua duodecim apostolorum in que ..t(ur) ipse testis et hoc ex precepto dicti vicari qui misit illis de dicta ecclesia quod pronuntiarent excommunicatos Guardianum et fratres predictos quando audient campanas ecclesie maioris et sancti antonini placentie

41	Item dixit quod audivit dici quod conceptis predictis excommunicatis sunt et denuntiatione dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant divina in civitate placentie
42	skipped
43	skipped

*Dominus Antolinus de Filiis Agadis*

1	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancte marie de cario sancti faustini et sancti michaelis
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiore usque ad domum domini raynaldi predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites predictarum parrochiarum. Iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti triginta et quadraginta ultra
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod quatuor anni sunt credit quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco
6-8	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto septimo et octavo capitulis que sic incipiunt. Item intendit etc
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres post audivit dici denuntiationem esse factam dictis fratribus fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco de satisfactione prestita vel non prestita noluit se intromittere ipse testis quia nichil scit de eo.
10	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opere
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum novum opus seu edificium est et fit in preiudicium capituli ecclesie placentie archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum
12	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
14	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod ecclesia maior placentie habebat privilegium quod nullus audebat construere ecclesiam in civitatem placentie sine consensus capituli placentie set numquam vidit ipsum privilegium.
15-16	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus.
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod dici Guardianus et fratres ostquam audivit dictam denuntiationem factam fuisse fecerunt construi domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium
18	Et facerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
19	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam muros in modum claustrum
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
21	Et quod dicti parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant oblationes offerre dictis ecclesiis

22	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
23	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicti fratres celebraverunt missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit quia non vidit
24	Item dixit ipse testis quod numquam vidit ipse testis dictos fratres recipere oblationes a parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium ipsarum ecclesiarum
25	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte nuntiationis fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo ecclesie placentie
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit bene quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina
27	Item dixit quod credit quod dictus locus est ita propte dictis capitulis quod propter sonum campane et propter voces que admittuntur in officiis quo in dicto loco celebrantur turbantur et impediuntur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis ecclesiis sancte marie et sancti faustini
28	Item dixit quod bene credit quod propter dictum edificium novum dicte capelle amiserunt plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro viis et mortuis de quibus amissis sustinent gravem lesionem cum dicte sint pauperes capelle
29	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis et quas dicti fratres dicuntur destruxisse
30	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie.
31	Item dixit quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie
32	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus Iohannes procuratore nomine etc.
33	Et super capitulo sequenti quod sic incipit. Item quod fecit eos citari cum etc
34	Et super alio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt etc.
35	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres per se etc.
36	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod non comparverunt etc
37	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius propter hoc etc. Lectis sibi testi dictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem dixit se nichil scire super eis
38	Item super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod dictus vicarius propter dictam contumaciam etc.
39	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius fecit predictum Guardianum etc.
40	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fuerunt denunciati etc. Lectis sibi testi predictis capitulis singulariter et diligenter per ordinem dixit quod audivit dici quod vicarius episcopi placentie excommunicavit Guardianum et fratres ordinis minorum de placentie et quod fecit eos denunciari excommunicatos in civitatem placentie et nichil aliud scit super ipsis capitulis

41	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres postquam ipse testis audivit dici quod dictus vicarius excommunicavit eos et fecerat eos pronuntiari excommunicatos ipsi fratres celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentie set contempserunt vel non contempserunt noluit dicere aliquid ipse testis quia nescit utrum contempserunt vel non contempserunt.
42	skipped
43	skipped

*Magister Cumignanus*

1	Quod dictus locus ... est prope ecclesias sancti donini et sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti michaelis sancte marie de cario et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini et nescit bene distinguere quantum dictus locus distat a ss.tis ecclesiis et nescit an dictus locus sit situs infra limites dictarum ecclesiarum an extra quia nescit ipsos limites.
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis super tertio et quarto capitulis lectis sibi diligenter dixit quod dictus locus est infra circuitum ipsarum ecclesiarum et nescit limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum et id circo nescit si dictus locus sit infra limites ipsarum ecclesiarum vel extra.
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod possunt esse quatuor anni vel citra id quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentie inceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco
6	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto septimo et octavo capitulis lectis sibi testi diligenter per ordinem se nescire bene veritatem de hiis que in dictis capitulis continentur quia non interfuit tamquam dixit ipse testis cum ipse laboraret ad ecclesiam que fiebat in dicto loco preceptum fuit ei experte episcopi placentie sub pene excomunis ne amplius laboraret ibi. Et ita ipse testis timens dictum preceptum stetit quod non laboravit ibi nec laborare voluit nec habet in mente si postea laboraunt ibi que dicta capitula sic incipiuntur videlicet sextum. Item intendit etc.
7	Septimum sic. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc
8	Octavum sic. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Tamquam dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod denuntiatur fuerat fratribus ex parte domini Episcopi et canonicorum placentie ne procederent nec procedi facerent in dicto edificio
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres postquam audivit sic deununtiatum ipsis fratribus fuisse fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco de satisfactione noluit aliquid dicere ipse testis quia nescit utrum dedentur vel non dederunt
10	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres hodie faciunt procedi in dicto opere ut credit et aliter nescit
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum novum opus seu edificium factum per ipsos fratres facit preiudicium capitulo ecclesie placentie et archipresbitero sancti donini et rectoribus dictarum ecclesiarum ut credit ipse testi et aliter nescit nisi per solam credentiam.
12	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate

	predicta.
14	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super quartodecimo articulo lecto sibi diligenter et per ordinem qui sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo etc.
15- 16	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus
17	Item dixit ipse testis super decimo septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi etc.
18	Et super decimo octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos etc.
19	Et super decimonono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quasdam alios muros etc. Dixit ipse testis sibi testi predictis capitulis lectis per ordinem quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt fieri in dicto loco quicquid voluerunt et potuerunt postquam audivit dici denuntiandum fuisse eis ne procederent in dicto edificio u test dictum supra. Set quid fecerunt fieri et quantum ex tunc dixit ipse testis se non bene scire et aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis.
20	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod parrochiani etc.
21	Et super viginto primo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod propter hoc etc.
22	Et super viginto secundo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod fratres dicti ordinis etc
23	Et super viginto tertio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item celebraverunt etc.
24	Et super viginto quarto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod receperunt etc
25	Et super viginto quinto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod ecclesia sancti Michaelis etc.
26	Et super viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie etc. Lectis sibi testi omnibus predictis capitulis per ordinem dixit se nichil scire.
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur ibi et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco celebrantur impediuntur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis.
28	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod propter edificium factum in dicto loco dicte capelle amiserunt plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis.
29	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit bene quod dicte capelle sive ecclesie debebant recipere et debent predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitasset in domibus predictis quas dicuntur dicti fratres destruxisse in dicto loco.
30- 43	Super vero sequentibus capitulis sibi testi per singula diligenter lectis dixit se nichil scire.

*Dominus Roffinus de Andito, iudex*

1	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sacnte marie de cario.
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi

	predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictus locus est situs et fuit infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et iam sunt viginti et triginta anni.
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicti Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt et in mense iunii proximi preteriti ut audivit dici et aliter nescit quia non erat tunc in civitate placentie
6	Item dixit ipse testis super illo capitulo sexto quod sic incipit. Intendit probare dictus procurator nomine quo supra etc.
7	Et super septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc.
8	Et super octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. lectis ipsis capitulis ipsi testi singulariter et per ordinem dixit se nichil scire super eis quia non interfuit
9	Item dixit ipse testis super nono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod spreca dicta nuntiatione etc.
10	Et super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie etc. Lectis ipsis capitulis diligenter per singula dixit ipse testis quod ipse vidit plures quod dicti fratres fecerunt laborari in dicto loco a tribus annis citra et aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis quia nescit utrum spreca vel non spreca nuntiation et prestita vel non prestita satisfactione.
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod opus seu edificium factum in dicto loco factum est et fit in preiudicium capituli placentie et archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum ecclesiarum predictarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum ut credit.
12	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
13	Item dixit quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie.
14	Item dixit ipse testis super quartodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo maioris ecclesie etc. Dixit se nichil scire sibi lecto diligenter per singula
15-16	Item dixit quod credit quod Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerent in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentini in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus et aliter nescit.
17	Item dixit ipse testis super decimo septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi etc
18	Et super decimo octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos etc.
19	Et super decimo nono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam alios muros etc. Dixit ipse testis quod bene vidit quod dicti fratres fecerunt fieri in dicto loco quasdam domos ubi fecerunt dormitorium et perratorium et cochinam et noluit aliud dicere ipse testis super ipsis capitulis diligenter sibi per ordinem lectis.
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum quod propter dictum edificium factum in dicto loco cessaverunt et cessant ire ad predictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
21	Et quod propter hoc parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dicti ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam
22	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina



	receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina.
23	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres celebraverunt missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum ut audivit diciet aliter nescit
24	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod receperunt et recipiunt oblationes etc. Sibi testi diligenter lecto per singula
25	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae atque quam dicti fratres cepissent facere dedicari in dicto loco fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit et audivit dici quae tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti nicolay de filiis agadis et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quod alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas et propter sonum campanarum et in officiis quae in dicto loco novo celebrantur in aliquo turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis et non penitus.
28	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod propter dictum novum edificium amiserunt predictae capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus habent magnam lesionem cum ipse parrochie sint pauperes
29	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus quae essent in dicto loco
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitate predicta
31	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
32-43	Super omnibus vero aliis capitulis sequentibus sibi testi per singula diligenter lectis dixit se nichil scire

*Presbiter Gerardus, rector and minister, church of Sant'Ilario*

1	Quod locus ... est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti faustini et sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancte marie de cario
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est et fuit situs infra limites parrochiarum predictarum ecclesiarum. Iam sunt decem anni et viginti et triginta quadraginta quinquaginta et sexaginta et ultra.
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guadianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt in mense iunii proximi preteriti
6	Item dixit ipse testis quod syndicus seu procurator capituli placentie archipresbiteri ecclesie sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum procuratorio nomine pro eisem per trium iactum lapilli nuntiavit in dicto opere novum opus existens in eodume loco ubi edificabatur.
7	Super septimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facto etc
8	Et super octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti

	magistri etc. Dixit se nichil scire sibi diligenter per singula de verbo ad verbum lectis quia non interfuit dicte nuntiationi.
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod spreca dicta nuntiatione dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco de satisfactione utrum prestita vel non prestita nescit.
10	Item dixit ipse testis super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie etc. dixit se nichil scire sibi diligenter per singula lecto
11	Item diit ipse testis quod dictum opus seu edificium factum est et fit in preiudicium dictorum capituli archiptresbiteri et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum
12	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie.
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
14	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod concessum fuit privilegium capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie ab apostoloica sede ante quam fratres predicti inciperent dictum opus ne cui liceat infra parrochias ecclesiarum ipsius capituli sine assensu diocesani episcopi vel capituli construere ecclesiam vel oratorium
15-16	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus.
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam nuntiationem novi operis domos in dicto loco in quibus celebraverunt et celebrant divinum officium
18	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
19	Et quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina officia
21	Et quod ipsi parrochiani propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant oblationes offerre predictis ecclesiis
22	Item dixit quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum
23	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
24	Et quod receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
25	Item dixit quod bene credit quod ecclesie sancti michaelis et ecclesie sancti faustini predictae ante tempus denuntiationis dicti novi operis immediate fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatem placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas ecclesias et quod propter voces altas que ad ibi amittuntur et propter sonum campane et in

	officiis que in dicto loco celebrantur impediuntur et turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis
28	Item quod propter dictum edificium novum amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vicis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sint pauperes
29	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis que errant in dicto loco.
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
31	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta.
32	Item dixit ipse testis super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus Iohannes procurator procuratio nomine pro predictis etc
33	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod fecit eas citari etc.
34	Et super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt etc.
35-36	Et super illos capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres per se etc.
37	Et quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus vicarius etc. Dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici et t(er)dic ea que in dictis capitulis continentur vera esse et aliter nescit lectis sibi predictis capitulis diligenter per singula de verbo ad verbum
38	Item dixit ipse testis dictus vicarius propter contumaciam excommunicavit dictos Guardianum et fratres ut audivit dici
39	Item dixit quod dictus vicarius fecit predictos Guardianum et fratres publice denuntiari excommunicatos per civitatem placentie
40	Et quod fuerunt denuntiati excommunicati in civitate predicta
41	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres postquam fuerunt sic denuntiati excommunicati celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitate placentie
42	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
43	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta

*Presbiter Iacobus, minister of Santa Maria de Geroanis*

1	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancte marie de cario
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni et a memoria ipsius testis citra
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod sint tres anni et plus quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis fratrum minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco

6-8	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod syndicus capituli et ecclesiarum placentie denunciaverat fratribus cum tribus lapidibus ne ipsi deberent procedere in dicto opere et aliud nescit quia non interfuit predictis.
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres spreca dicta nuntiatione fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco nulla prestitia seu oblata satisfactione capitulo ecclesie placentie et rectoribus dictarum ecclesiarum.
10	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres faciunt procedi hodie in dicto opere predicta nuntiatione contempta.
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictum edificium novum seu opus factum est et fit in preiudicium dicti capituli et archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum
12	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est in civitate placentie publica vox et fama
13	Item dixit quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie.
14	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod capitulum ecclesie placentie habet privilegium ne an liceat edificare infra parrochias ipsius capituli ecclesiam nec oratorium sine assensu diocesani episcopi vel di( ) capituli et aliter nescit
15-16	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu episcopi et capituli placentie in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam nuntiationem domos in dicto loco in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant
18	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
19	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros ad modum claustrum.
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
21	Et quod propter hoc parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis
22	Item dixit quod bene audivit dici quod fratres dicti ordinis in dictis domibus celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina.
23	Et quod audivit dici quod celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum frequenter in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
24	Et quod recipiunt et receperunt oblationes a dictis parrochianis in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum
25	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte nuntiationis in mediate fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie singulis diebus dominicis et festis tenentur venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici a presbiteris dictarum ecclesiarum quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et propter

	sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et turbantur penitus officia divina in dictis ecclesiis
28	Item dixit quod audivit dici a predictis presbiteris et propter dictum novum edificum amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum dicte capelle sint paupere.
29	Et quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus que errant vel essent in dicto loco
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
31	Et quod redit quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta
32-37	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod omnia ea que continentur in triginto secundo triginto trio triginto quarto triginto quinto triginto sexto et triginto septimo capitulis esse vera et credit ea esse vera et aliter nescit quia non interfuit primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter et per ordinem.
38	Item dixit quod dictus vicarius propter contumaciam dictos Guardianum et fratres excommunicationis finam in vocavit
39	Et quod dictus vicarius fecit predictos Guardianum et fratres publice denunciari excommunicatos per civitatem placentiam
40	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati in civitate predicta
41	Et quod conceptis predictis excommunis finam et denuntiatione celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentie
42	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentie
43	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria in civitate placentie

*Magister Rolandus Zumignanus*

I	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum sancte Marie de Cario Sancti Faustini Sancti Nicolay de Filiis Agadis Sancti Michaelis et ancti Iacobi de Supramuro
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est infra limites dictarum parrochiarum iam sunt centum anni
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod quatuor anni sunt vel id circa quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentiam ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco.
6	Item dixit ipse testis quod denuntiatur fuit sibi quodam tempore quo laborabat in dicto loco pro dictis fratribus quod non laboraret in dicto loco set quod denuntiatur fuerit fratribus nescit ipse testis nec recordatur
7-10	Item dixit ipse testis super omnibus capitulis loquentibus de dicta denuntiatione se nolle aliquid dicere quia non recordatur de dicta denuntiatione aliquid
11	Item dixit quod credit quod dictum novum opus seu edificum factum est et fit in preiudicium rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsarum ecclesiarum.

12	skipped
13	skipped
14	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illo capitulo quod sic incipit Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo maioris ecclesie placentie etc. lecto ipsi testi diligenter.
15-16	Item dixit quod bene credit quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie
17	skipped
18	skipped
19	skipped
20	Item dixit quod credit bene quod alicui de parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum propter opus factum in dicto loco cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendu divina
21	Et quod propter hoc rectores dictarum ecclesiarum amittunt oblationes plures.
22	Item dixit quod fratres dicti ordinis celebrantes divina in dicto loco receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina.
23	Item dixit ipse testis super illis duobus articulis qui sic incipiunt. Item quod celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum etc.
24	Item quod receperunt et recipiunt oblationes etc. Dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi diligenter
25	Item dixit quod credit quod ecclesie sancti michaelis et sancti faustini ante quam dicti fratres inceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco sunt subiecte capitulo maioris ecclesie placentia.
26	Item dixit ipse testis se nescire bene super hiis que continentur in viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie etc
27	Item dixit ipse testis super illo capitulo viginto septimo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas etc. dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod sonus campane fratrum que est in dicto loco noceat officiis que fiunt in dictis ecclesiis et aliud noluit dicere ipse testis super ipso capitulo sibi lecto diligenter.
28	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod propter dictum edificium amiserunt dicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amisis gravem substinent lesionem cum ipse capelle sint pauperes.
29	Et quod dicte capelle debebant recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus que essent in dicto loco
30	skipped
31	skipped
32	Item super triginto secundo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus Johannes procurator etc.
33-43	Et super omnibus aliis sequentibus capitulis lectis ipsi singulariter et per ordinem dixit ipse testis se nichil scire nisi quod audivit seme in ecclesia maiori in qua erat ipse testis quod fratres minores fuerunt nuntiati excommunicati.

1	Quod locus...est situs infra limites ecclesiarum sancti faustini sancti iacobi de supramuro sancte marie de cario et sancti Nicolay de Filiis agadis.
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt decem anni triginta quadraginta et sexaginta et plus
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod quatuor anni sunt vel id circa quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco
6	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod denuntiatur fuit fratribus ne deberent procedere in dicto opere et nichil aliud scit quia non interfuit denuntiatio.
7	Item dixit quod audivit dici quod tempore dicte denuntiationis fratres Nicolaus Bagaroti et Melioratus de Formimpopulo ordinis fratrum minorum dicte civitatis et magistri Rolandus Zumignari et Tçonus de Bardi et Ffrendontius Zopinolli et Johannes de Christiana operantes et operari facientes in dicto edificio pro dictis fratribus.
8	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super capitulo octavo quod sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc.
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres postquam ipse testis audivit dici sic denuntiatur fuisse ut predixit fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio et edificari in dicto loco de prestita satisfactione vel non prestata nescit.
10	Super capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie faciunt procedi dixit se nichil scire si hodie faciunt procedi.
11	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit dictum opus seu edificium factum est et fit in preiudicium capituli placentie archipresbiteri sancti donini et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum et ipsorum ecclesiarum
12	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitate placentia
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate predicta
14	Item dixit ipse testis super illo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo maioris ecclesie etc. se nichil scire
15-16	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt edificari in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentia in preiudicium rectorum et eis contradicentibus
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres postquam ipse testis audivit sic denuntiatur fuisse eis ut supradixit fecerunt construi in dicto loco domos in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant
18	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alias eorum officinas
19	Et quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam muros ad modum claustrum.
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina.
21	Et quod propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant oblationes offerre dictis ecclesiis et aliter

	nescit.
22	Item dixit dictus testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina recipiunt et receperunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
23	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit quod dicti fratres celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit quia non interfuit
24	Item dixit quod bene audivit dici quod dicti fratres receperunt et recipiunt oblationes a parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum et aliter nescit.
25	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predicte ante tempus dicte denuntiationis in mediate sunt subiecte et fuerunt capitulo ecclesie placentia
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que admittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis ut credit dictus testis et aliter nescit.
28	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit quod propter dictum edificium novum amiserunt predicte capelle plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant multas et bonas oblationes pro vivis et mortuis de quibus amissis gravem substinent lesionem cum ipse capelle sunt pauperes
29	Et quod dicte capelle debebant et debent recipere predicta ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus predictis quas destruxerunt predicti fratres in dicto loco
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitate placentie
31	Item dixit ipse testis quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitatem predicta
32	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod vicarius episcopi placentie fecit citari diversis diebus Guardianum et fratres ordinis fratrum minorum de placentia
33	Et quod audivit dici quod fecit citari eos plures ut venirent responsuri procuratori prepositi et capituli placentie et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum super novo edificio quod faciebant construi in preiudicium ipsorum de quo edificio agitur.
34	Et quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fuerunt citari etc.
35	Et recusaverunt compare contumaciter coram ipso vicario
36	Et quod non comparent nec ipsi nec aliquis pro eis coram vicario ssOt.
37	Et quod propter hoc dictus vicarius reputavit dictos Guardianum et fratres contumaces et aliter nescit de predictis quia non interfuit
38	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus vicarius propter dictam contumaciam dictos Guardianum et fratres excommunicatis snia(?) innodavit
39	Et quod dictus vicarius fecit publice predictos Guardianum et fratres denunciari excommunicatos per civitatem placentie
40	Et quod fuerunt denunciati excommunicati per civitatem predictam
41	Et quod conceptis predictis excommunicatis siam et denuntiatione celebraverunt et celebrant divina officia in civitatem placentia.



42	Item dixit ipse testis quod de predictis et singulis predictorum est et fuit publica vox et fama in civitatem placentia
43	Et quod predicta omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt publica et notoria per totam civitatem predictam Et hoc scit quia publice dicitur per totam civitatem predictam sic esse et aliud noluit dicere ipse testis super ipsis capitulis cum credat sufficere ea que supradixit in consimilibus.

*Magister Iohannes de Christiana*

1	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancte marie de cario sancti michaelis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini placentie quod dicitur public per gentem et s(er) quod credit ipse testis et aliter nescit quia nescit bene limites ipsarum ecclesiarum.
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod predictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et viam aliam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est situs infra limites predictarum parrochiarum ecclesiarum predictarum iam sunt centum anni et plus.
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt de mense iunii proximi preteriti
6	Item dixit ipse testis quod procurator seu syndicus capituli placentie et archipresbiteri et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum procurant nomine pro eisdem per trinum iactum lapilli nuntiavit in dicto opere novum opus exitens in eodem loco ubi edificabatur
7	Item dixit ipse testis quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte in dicto edificio erant presentes in dicto loco fratres Nicolaus Bagarotus et Melioratus de Fornimpopulo ordinis fratrum minorum de placentia et magistri Rolandus Zumignani et B(0)zon(us) de Bardi et Ffredonicus Zopinelli ipse testis operantes et operari facientes in dicto edificio pro dictis fratribus
8	Item dixit ipse testis quod ipse et omnis alii magistri tempore dicte denuntiationis sufrenabant muoros circumquaque factos in dicto loco
9	Item dixit ipse testis super nono capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod spreca dicta denuntiatione etc.
10	Et super decimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod hodie faciunt procedi etc
11	Et super undecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dictum novum opus etc. dixit se nichil scire primo lectis sibi omnibus predictis capitulis singulariter per singula
12	Item dixit ipse testis super duodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod de predictis etc.
13	Et super tertiodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod predicta et singula etc.
14	Et super quartodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo etc
15	Et super quintodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus etc.
16	Et super sextodecimo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod eis etc. Se nichil scire primo omnibus capitulis predictis sibi per singula de verbo ad verbum diligenter lectis
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardianus et fratres fecerunt construi post dictam denuntiationem novi operis domos i dicto loco in quibus divinum officium celebraverunt et celebrant

18	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos in quibus faciunt alios eorum officinas
19	Et quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quos alios muros in modum claustrum.
20	Item dixit dictus testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
21	Et quod propter parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis ut audivit dici ipse testis et aliter nescit.
22	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum d divina
23	Item dixit ipse testis se nescire aliquid super viginto tertio capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod celebraverunt et celebrant missas etc
24	Et super viginto quarto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod receperunt etc. lectis ipsi testi diligenter.
25	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto quinto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod ecclesia sancti Michaeli etc.
26	Et super viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie etc. Se nichil scire lectis ipsis capitulis ipsi testi diligenter.
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod credit bene quod sonus campane que est in dicto loco et voces que emittuntur in officiis que celebrantur in dicto loco noceant officiis que fiunt in dictis capellis et aliud noluit dicere super ipso capitulo
28	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto octavo capitulo quod sic incipit. Item quod propter dictu edificium novum etc
29	Et super viginto nono quod sic incipit. Item quod dicte capelle etc. se nichil scire pro certo lectis ipsis capitulis ipsi testi diligenter
30	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super omnibus aliis sequentibus capitulis lectis ipsi testi singulariter et per ordinem nisi quod audivit dici quod vicarius episcopi placentie excommunicavit fratres minores
31-43	skipped

*Magister Iacobus de Berzano*

1	Quod nescit terminos parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti michaelis sancte marie de cario sancti iacobi de supramuro sancti faustini sancti donini et ideo nescit dicere si locus in quo consuevit esse domus domini ubertini de andito qui est positus infra hos confines videlicet inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi Salimbeni in qua moratur potestas comunis placentia sit situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum quia non est vicinus ipsarum ecclesiarum
2	Item dixit quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad dictam domum.
3	Item dixit ipse testis super tertio articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus fuit etc.
4	Et super quarto articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod iam sunt etc. Se nichil scire quia nescit limites dictarum parrochiarum ut dixit lectis sibi diligenter.
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis minorum de placentia

	ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco quatuor anni fuerunt in mense iunii prximi preteriti.
6-7	skipped
8-19	Item super octavo nono decimo undecimo duodecimo tertidecimo quartodecimo quintodecimo sextodecimo decimo octavo et decimonono capitulis dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis sibi singulariter et per ordinem.
20	Item dixit ipse testis quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter dictum edificium cessant et cessaverunt ire ad dictas ecclesias ad audiendum divina
21	Et propter hoc cessaverunt et cessant dicti parrochiani a dictis divinis et oblationibus.
22	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina.
23-24	skipped
25	Super viginto quinto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod ecclesia etc.
26	Et super viginto sexto capitulo quod sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod tam dicte ecclesie etc. dixit ipse testis se nichil scire lectis ipsis capituli sibi diligenter.
27	Item dixit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter voces altas que emittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco celebrantur impediuntur et penitus turbantur divina officia in dictis ecclesiis.
28-43	skipped

*Presbiter* Albertus, San Vincenzo

1	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancti nicolay de filiis agadis sancte marie de cario sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini placentia
2	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum domini Raynaldi predicti.
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum predictarum ecclesiarum iam sunt quinquaginta anni et plus.
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres ordinis minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco set non recordatur quoa anno nec quo mense nec quo die.
6	Item dixit ipse testis super sexto articulo qui sic incipit. Item intendit probare etc.
7	Et super septimo qui sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc.
8	Et super octavo capitulo qui sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. dixit ipse testis se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit denuntiationi lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter
9	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti fratres s0 quod audivit fecerunt procedi in dicto edificio post nuntiationem eis factam et aliter nescit nisi per auditum quia non interfuit
10-11	skipped
12	Item dixit quod credit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum sit publica vox et fama et aliter dixit se nescire quia stat ipse testis nunc iuxta fines civitatem placentie

13	Et dixit quod credit quod predicta sunt publica et notoria in civitatem placentie et aliter nescit quia stat iuxta fines dicte civitate
14	Item dixit ipse testis quod audivit dici quod concessum est privilegium a sede apostolica capitulo ecclesie placentie ne cui liceat edificare seu construere ecclesiam vel oratorium infra parrochias ecclesiarum ipsius capituli sine assensu episcopi et capituli placentie et audivit ipse testis legi dictum privilegium in una predicatione ut credit ipse testis.
15- 16	Item dixit quod dicti fratres edificari fecerunt in dicto loco sine assensu et voluntate episcopi et capituli placentie et eis contradicentibus ut credit ipse testis set non interfuit contradictioni.
17	Item super decimo septimo articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres etc.
18	Et super decimo octavo qui sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quasdam alias domos etc.
19	Et super decimo nono articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros etc. lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter dixit ipse testi quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quod bene credit et audivit dici quod dicti fratres fecerunt construi in dicto loco post nuntiationem eis factam set nescit quid fecerunt construi in dicto loco quia non fuit ipse testis in dicto loco ex quo dicti fratres ceperunt facere edificari ibi.
20	Super viginto articulo qui sic incipit: Item intendit probare quod parrochiani etc. dixit ipse testis quod credit quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum relinquerunt suas ecclesias et vadunt ad dictum locum ad officia divina ut audivit ipse testis a presbiteros dicte ecclesie sancti Jacobi quod omnis dominici parrochie sue relinquerunt eum et ibant ad dictum locum ad officia.
21	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod parrochiani dictarum ecclesiarum propter locum predictum cessaverunt et cessant offerre oblationes dictis ecclesiis et aliter nescit nisi per credentiam et per auditum
22	Item dixit ipse testis quod fratres dicti ordinis in dicto loco celebrantes divina receperunt et recipiunt parrochianos dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina
23	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene audivit dici quod dicti fratres celebraverunt missas sponsaliorum parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium dictarum ecclesiarum.
24	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicti fratres recipiunt et receperunt oblationes a parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum in preiudicium ipsarum et aliter nescit quia non vidit nec interfuit ubi reciperent.
25	Item dixit ipse testis quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predicte antiquitus fuerunt et hodie sunt subiecte in mediate capitulo maioris ecclesie placentia
26	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti donini quam alie ecclesie civitatis placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam maiorem ad celebrandum divina officia
27	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus est ita prope dictas capellas quod propter altas voces que emittuntur et propter sonum campane et in officiis que in dicto loco novo celebrantur impediuntur et penitus turbantur officia divina in dictis ecclesiis
28	Item dixit ipse testis super viginto octavo capitulo quod sic incipit: Item quod propter dictum edificum novum amiserunt dicte capelle etc. dixit quod bene credit quod dicte capelle propter dictum edificum amiserunt plures parrochianos a quibus habebant et habere debebant oblationes pro vivis et mortuis.

29	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dicte capelle debebant recipere oblationes ab illis qui pro tempore habitassent in domibus que errant in dicto loco.
30	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie.
31	Item dixit ipse testis super capitulo quod sic incipit: Item quod predicta et singula etc. dixit se nescire quod sint publica et notoria tamquam credit.
32-43	Item dixit ipse testis super omnibus aliis sequentibus capitulis lectis sibi testi diligenter et per ordinem quod bene credit quod vicarius domini episcopi placentie fecit citari diversis diebus Guardianum et fratres ordinis minorum civitatem placentia ut venirent responsuri procuratori predictorum prepositi et capituli placentie et rectorum dictarum ecclesiarum nuper novo edificio et quod ipsi Guardianus et fratres voluerunt comparere et quod dictus vicarius reputavit eos contumaces et eos excommunicavit et fecit eos denunciari excommunicatos publice per civitatem placentie et ipse met testis denunciavit plures excommunicatos dictos Guardianum et fratres aliud noluit dicere super ipsis capitulis.

*Visdominus Iohannes Zanarellus, San Salvatore*

1	Quod locus...est situs infra limites parrochiarum ecclesiarum sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis sancti michaelis sancti iacobi de supramuro et sancti faustini.
2	Item dixit quod dictus locus est positus inter viam de supramuro et aliam viam publicam per quam itur ab ecclesia maiori usque ad domum dicti domini Raynaldi
3-4	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod dictus locus fuit et est situs infra limites parrochiarum dictarum ecclesiarum iam est longum tempus.
5	Item dixit ipse testis quod Guardianus et fratres ordinis fratrem minorum de placentia ceperunt facere edificari in dicto loco set non recordatur quo anno nec quo mense nec quo die tamquam credit quod sint quatuor anni vel id circa
6	Item dixit ipse testis super illis tribus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator etc.
7	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis facte etc.
8	Tertius sic incipit. Item quod tempore dicte nuntiationis dicti magistri etc. Lectis ipsi testi diligenter dixit se nichil scire pro certo quia non interfuit predicte nuntiationi tamquam quod audivit dici quod denuntiatio fuit fratribus ne procederent in dicto edificio et aliter nescit.
9	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item quod exceptam dicta nuntiatione etc.
10	numbering error
11	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod dictum novum edificium etc. Lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter.
12	Item dixit quod de predictis et singulis predictorum fuit et est publica vox et fama in civitate placentie.
13	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod predicta et singula predictorum sunt et fuerunt publica et notoria in civitate placentie
14	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis tribus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item intendit probare dictus procurator quod capitulo etc.
15	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres edificari fecerunt etc

16	Tertius sic incipit. Item quod eis etc. Lectis ipsi testi singulariter et diligenter per ordinem
17	Item dixit ipse testis quod dicti Guardinaus et fratres fecerunt construi in dicto loco ut credit ipse testis post dictam denuntiationem set nescit quid fecerunt construi in ipso loco postea et aliud noluit dicere ipse testis super illis tribus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item quod dicti Guardianus et fratres etc.
18	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in dicto loco quosdam alios muros etc.
19	Tertius sic incipit. Item quod fecerunt construi in loco predicto quosdam alios muros etc. Lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter
20	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item intendit probare quod parrochiani etc.
21	Secundus Sic incipit. Item quod propter hoc parrochiani etc. Lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter.
22	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit quod fratres dicti ordinis celebrantes divina in dicto loco recipiunt parrochianis dictarum ecclesiarum ad divina et aliud nescit super ipso articulo.
23	Item dixit ipse testis se nichil scire super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item quod celebraverunt et celebrant missas sponsaliorum etc.
24	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod receperunt et recipiunt oblationes etc. Lectis ipsis articulis ipsi testi diligenter
25	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene [credit?] quod ecclesia sancti michaelis et ecclesia sancti faustini predictae ante tempus dicte nuntiationis fuerunt et sunt subiecte hodie ccapitulo maioris ecclesie placentie.
26	Item dixit quod bene credit quod tam dicte ecclesie sancte marie de cario sancti Nicolay de filiis agadis et sancti iacobi de supramuro quam alie ecclesie civitate placentie tenentur singulis diebus dominicis et festivis venire ad ecclesiam minorum ad celebrandum divina officia.
27	Item dixit ipse testis se volle aliquid dicere super illis duobus articulis quorum primus sic incipit. Item quod dictus locus est ita prope etc.
28	Secundus sic incipit. Item quod propter dictum novum edificium amiserunt dicte capelle etc. Lectis ipsi testi diligenter quia nescit bene veritatem de hiis que in dictis articulis continentur
29	Item dixit ipse testis quod bene credit si dictus locus esset accusatus sicut iam fuit quod sacerdotes dictarum ecclesiarum haberent oblationes plures et caritates solitas quas nunc non habent nec habere possunt quia dictus locus non habitatur per vicinos et aliuss noluit dicere ipse testis super illo articulo qui sic incipit. Item quod dicte capelle etc.
30- 43	skipped

## Appendix G: Witness Biographies

### *Anonymous A*

The first page in the document is a fragment, labeled with the Arabic numeral 9 in the upper left-hand corner of the verso. The fragment only contains 23 lines where the rest of the manuscript pages have an average of 49 lines. What remains of the testimony of witness Anonymous A is contained in those 23 lines. The subject matter covered dealt with *capituli* 17-19, those dealing with the construction of buildings. We know little about witness Anonymous A, except that he was not a “*murator*,” a response he gave as a reason for not knowing “*quas muros ad modum claustri fecerunt fieri dicti fratres?*”

### *Anonymous B*

Much more remains of the second fragmentary deposition of the witness Anonymous B. Unlike Anonymous A, once B’s testimony begins in the middle of the questioning for *capitulum* 12, the manuscript maintains continuous pagination into the next witness’s testimony. B gave concrete information in three of the broad sections that dealt with the parish structure and economy.

### *Vincentius*

*Presbiter* Vincentius, 46, was the priest of the parish church of *Sanctus Georgius*, to the southwest of the immediate area involved in the dispute. Still safely in the city center, Vincentius offered a variety of insights into parish structure, though his parish was not as close to the Franciscans as some of the other witnesses.

### *Simon*

*Presbiter* Simon, 50, was the *minister* of San Pietro in Foro, very close to the Franciscan church. Simon offered responses to a variety of topics, ranging from the parish definitions, to the order that structures were built at the site, and details about the friars’ denunciation, including what the workers were doing at the time. He gave specific details about the kinds of income the parishes lost to the friars, and gave the names of the rectors of

the parish churches. He also named some of the friars. His testimony contains many useful, clear statements.

#### *Canonus*

*Presbiter* Canonus, 43, was the priest of the church of San Gervasio in Piacenza, also very close to the friars' convent. He received much of his information from the rectors of the affected churches, which makes sense since his church was so close to the new convent and those other parish churches.

#### *Ubertus Reddemanus*

Ubertus Reddemanus, 38, was a *clericus* at the church of San Protaso, very close to the Franciscan site. Ubertus's main contribution was providing specific details about the parishioners and other structures that defined the parish boundaries.

#### *Guillelmus de Vigolo*

Guillelmus de Vigolo, 56, was a canon at the church of the Dodici Apostoli in Piacenza. It was located in the south of the city near the *porta* of San Lorenzo. The Franciscans' earlier community, as well as that of the Clares, were very close to Guillelmus's church. Guillelmus was one of the few witnesses also recorded in documentation from the proceedings of Piacenza's commune, having been a witness at various meetings.

#### *Antolinus de Filiis Agadis*

Antolinus, a layperson with the title of *Dominus*, was very forthcoming, particularly in his descriptions of the parishes, himself a parishioner in one of the affected parishes, that of San Nicolò. He was one of the four witnesses who provided precise details of the parish boundaries, reflected in the reconstruction maps.



### *Cumignanus*

*Magister* Cumignanus's primary contribution was to help us understand the denunciation, including the fact that he himself was threatened with excommunication and forced to quit. He was one of the least familiar witnesses with the parish structure and boundaries.

Cumignanus, while seemingly paranoid about his own fate after threats from the Church, was quick to name his son Rolandus as working for the friars in a prominent role, naming him as who began the construction project.

### *Roffinus de Andito*

*Dominus* Roffinus de Andito, 35, and a *iudex*, was a lay resident of the parish of San Nicolò. He offered some information about those parish boundaries, but was not one of the four main contributors to our understanding of those boundaries.

### *Gerardus*

*Presbiter* Gerardus, 28, was the rector and minister of the church of Sant'Ilario in Piacenza. He was one of the four witnesses whose testimony constitute my reconstruction of the parish boundaries.

### *Presbiter Iacobus*

*Presbiter* Iacobus, 50, was the minister of the church of Santa Maria de Gerovaris (Zeroalli) in Piacenza. He had standard information about the events at the friars site, remembering that they built the *cortina* first, and built in the direction of the *via publica*. He had enough familiarity to know that the *sindicus* of the chapter of Piacenza denounced them *cum tribus lapidibus* to cease construction.

He had a lot to say about the friars' obstinacy in the face of the denunciation, the work they continued doing afterwards, the harm it caused, and the resulting gossip.

### *Rolandus Zumignanus*

Rolandus Zumignanus, 38, was one of the masons on the friars' construction project. Based on his high level of recognition among the other *magistri* as well as the lay and clerical witnesses, it is likely that he was the primary *magister* on the project. His bullied father, Cumignanus, identified him personally as a participant.

Like other builder witnesses, Rolandus responded to many questions about the events that took place at the friars' site from a firsthand knowledge of those events. He claimed to have been there when they began construction four years earlier, and confirmed that the first thing they built was the *cortina*, though he claimed construction began to the south.

One of the most interesting aspects of his testimony was about the denunciation: he is the only witness to claim to have been denounced himself while working on the site. At the same time, he did not remember anything about the friars' denunciation. Rolandus's selective memory appeared on other occasions; his defensive reservations against responding suggests confirmation of his more important role on the project.

### *Aço Medicus*

Aço Medicus, 48, was a *magister* of some kind, though he did not overtly claim to have been working on the friars' convent as many of the other *magistri* did. He agreed that the *cortina* and walls were built first. He named both friars and *magistri* who worked on the building.

### *Iohannes de Christiana*

Iohannes de Christiana, 30, was a *magister*. He was an interesting witness, both named by other witnesses as working on the Franciscan church, and willing to admit significant activity on his own part. Such an attitude contrasts with that of Rolandus Zumignanus, who was also named on several occasions by other witnesses but who remained much more reticent in his testimony. Unless it was a brilliant move of trickery on Iohannes's part, it seems likely that he was at a lower risk of incrimination than Rolandus, who was the

only one to be singled out by the other witnesses on several occasions as holding a more significant role.

Iohannes's testimony offers other hints about the standard differences in perspective between the clerical and lay witnesses. He is much less authoritative in his description of the parishes and their boundaries, claiming only to know them from the people of the surrounding neighborhoods: "*per gentem circumstantem dictis ecclesiis.*"

On the other hand, Iohannes had precise memories of the events of construction, recalling that the project was begun near the end of June, four years earlier, even recalling that it was on a Monday. He named the other *magistri* working on the site multiple times throughout his testimony and returned familiar answers for questions about what was built first (*cortina*) and in which direction (*versus orientem*).

He was familiar with the denunciation, referring to it by the phrase "*trium iactum lapilli*," and admitted his presence at the time the denunciation occurred. He offered details about the progress on the work at the time, recalling that the *curtina* was mostly done, and described the precise logistical details of where the *sindicus* who made the denunciation was standing. He reported that the *sindicus* denounced both the friars and the *magistri* working their to cease. Continuing on in further detail, he specified that the progress on the *curtina* was *sex brachia* tall. He also is the source for the precise distinction between Rolandus Zumignanus and the other *magistri*, offering the varying titles: that Rolandus was both *operans et operari faciens* while the others were strictly *operantes*.

#### *Iacobus de Berzano*

Iacobus de Berzano, a *magister* of undefined employ or age, left one of the least informative depositions. It is unclear whether he worked at the friars' site, but that seems unlikely.

#### *Albertus*

Albertus, 65, was the *presbiter* of the church of San Vincenzo in Piacenza, about a ten-minute walk from the Franciscan site. Albertus had a variety of useful contributions,

principal among which were his detailed descriptions of the parish boundaries into which the Franciscan site was inserted.

*Iohannes Zanarellus*

Iohannes Zanarellus was a *visdominus* of the church of San Salvatore in Piacenza, far on the northeast outskirts of the city. He was fairly unfamiliar with the parish boundaries in question, since he was not a “*parrochianus*” of those churches. However, he knew the location because he had seen it, and he had worked there. Whether Iohannes meant to say that he worked specifically at the friars’ site remains obscure. However, again, when he explained how he knew they began construction four years earlier, it was because he had been present, “*quia ipse interfuit et vidit.*”

## Appendix H: The Five Parishes

### 1. San Nicolò (Figure 4)

*Interrogavit: Qui sunt et fuerunt limites cuidlibet predictarum ecclesiarum et quantum et qualiter protenduntur limites cuidlibet predictarum ecclesiarum et de confinibus seu terminis cuidlibet earum distinguendo confines et limites cuidlibet ab altaris?*

*Respondit: Quod limites et confines ecclesie Sancti Nicolay predicti protenduntur usque ad domum que fuit predicti Domini Ubertini*

*Int: Ubi incipiunt et finiunt dicti limites?*

*Resp: Limites ecclesie Sancti Nicolay incipiunt a domo Domini Uberti Budelli et finiunt ad casamentum Domini Maruchii de Andito et ad casamentum dicti Domini Ubertini de Andito et sunt infra dictum locum.*

Antolinus, who resided in the parish of San Nicolò, was the most descriptive witness about its boundaries. His testimony described the limits of the parish starting from the house (*a domo*) of *Dominus* Ubertus Budellus as far as the property (*ad casamentum*) of *Dominus* Maruchius de Andito and the property (*ad casamentum*) of *Dominus* Ubertinus de Andito. In the first response transcribed above, he referred specifically to *Domini* Ubertinus's house (*domum que fuit predicti Domini Ubertini*) as the defining boundary of the parish, rather than just his *casamentum*.<sup>1</sup> The distinction is important here, since it confirms that Ubertinus lived on the land that passed to the friars, and was not simply a landlord. Antolinus's use of the phrase "*infra dictum locum*" to describe these boundaries suggests that he meant that they were within the friars' precinct. It therefore appears that those houses framed the convent's east side (Ubertus Budellus at number 5), at the northeast corner of the friars' property (Maruchius de Andito at number 3) and along the north side (Ubertinus de Andito at number 1). My reconstruction places Ubertinus de Andito's house as the western boundary because of the relationship with the parish of Santa Maria de Cario, reflected in his will, thus placing him closer to the other de Andito residences.

The significance of Antolinus's verb tenses is worth examining. In his response to the first question, he used the past tense to clearly refer to a house that used to belong to

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<sup>1</sup> The distinction is subtle but important. According to the *Glossario Latino Emiliano*, edited by Pietro Sella, the *casamentum* was the property on which buildings could be constructed as in a "*casamentum cum casa*" from the Chartae Imolense, II, p. 378 1189, or "*casamenta cum domibus*" from the Annales Bolognesi, II, II, p. 13, 1221, "*casamentum terre positum in civitate*," Chartae Studii Bononiensi, I, p. 193, 1271, or most specific of the examples, "*casamentum super quo consueverat esse una domus plana cuperta de cupis*" from the Chartae Studii Bononiensi, III, p. 256, 1341

*Domini Ubertini (domum que fuit)*. But his second response that described the parish boundaries in greater detail remained in the present tense, though it seems almost certain that those buildings were destroyed since he also described them as “*infra dictum locum*.” The use of the present tense alone does not necessarily imply an extant building, but could also signify the continuity of the parish boundaries, since it seems relatively certain that Ubertino de Andito’s house had been destroyed.

*Ubertus Reddemanus: Et limites ecclesie Sancti Nicolay protenduntur usque ad furnum qui fuit illorum de Aidochis qui furnus est infra dictum locum.*

*Gerardus: Quod limites ecclesie Sancti Nicolay predicti protenduntur usque ad furnum qui solitus erat cuiusdam qui vocabatur Bacilus et erat dictus furnus in dicto loco.*

*Albertus: Et infra limites Sancti Nicolay est dictus locus esse in quod credit ipse testis tantum per unam domum que fuit Iacobi de Andengo que domus erat in dicto loco.*

Ubertus, Gerardus and Albertus each contributed the name of one resident of San Nicolò. Ubertus Reddemanus described the parish’s boundaries extending to the bakery that belonged to the de Aidochis, now inside the convent.” Ubertus, like Antolinus, used the past tense to describe the bakery’s ownership, but the present to refer to its location (*est infra dictum locum*). Gerardus also referred to the bakery, but used the past tense both for its ownership (*furnum qui solitus erat cuiusdam qui vocabatur Bacilus*) and location (*erat dictus furnus in dicto loco*). Gerardus’s language suggests that the bakery had been destroyed. His clear usage of the past tense was maintained throughout his testimony where other witnesses used the present. It seems likely that those buildings within the friars’ convent had been destroyed, even when witnesses referred to their previous locations in the present tense. In the reconstruction, I located the bakery to the east of Ubertino’s property, since it was twice referred to as the limit of the parish of San Nicolò. Since we know Ubertino’s property to have been on the boundary with the parish of Santa Maria, it seems logical that the bakery could have been confused for the edge of the parish. Albertus, who was least familiar with the parish of San Nicolò, only knew the name of one parishioner, Iacobus de Andengus, whose house was within the friars’ property. The second anonymous witness also recalled the house of Iacobus Andengus.

In addition to questions about the parishioners whose houses were either subsumed or destroyed by the friars, the legates also wanted to know which parishioners had

abandoned their parishes for the friars. These names help us fill in the rest of the parishes. The second anonymous witness named several parishioners from all five affected parishes. The page with this testimony is one of the least legible of the manuscript, but several of the names can be read or partially read. He named the following parishioners from San Nicolò:

*Dominus* Fr...nis de Andito

*Filius et Filias Domini* Freventii

Antolinus de Filiis Agadis

Ubertus Vulpis de Andito

Gug... de Andito

Grantius Ferracanus

Guzardi de Andito

Roffinus *eius filius*

Iacobus *eius filius*

Henricus Ghinus *eius filius*<sup>2</sup>

Antolinus also provided detailed lists of the parishioners who ceased attendance at their parish churches for the friars. For San Nicolò, he listed:

*Dominus* Guzardus de Andito

Roffinus *eius Filius*

Ubertus

*Domini* Fredentius de Andito

The witness himself<sup>3</sup>

*Presbiter* Simon offered one name: Fultus Malgarius.<sup>4</sup> The second anonymous witness and Antolinus repeated several similar names, reinforcing each other's testimony, especially since Antolinus also attended the Franciscan church. The blank beige spaces on the map represent hypothetical locations for these six houses. I have not attempted to speculate who might have lived where since no logistical information was offered about them. I have only estimated where the houses might generally have been located.

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<sup>2</sup> Second anonymous witness, f. 17, l. 14-17, *capitulum* 21

<sup>3</sup> Antolinus, f. 45, l. 48-9, *capitulum* 21

<sup>4</sup> Simon, f. 27, l. 35, *capitulum* 22

## Appendix I

Institutions & Legislation of the Ministry of Public Instruction prior  
to the Unification of Italy in 1861 to the annexation of Rome in

1870



Color Legend for Appendices related to the Ministry of Public Instruction  
and the Institutionalization of the Soprintendenze

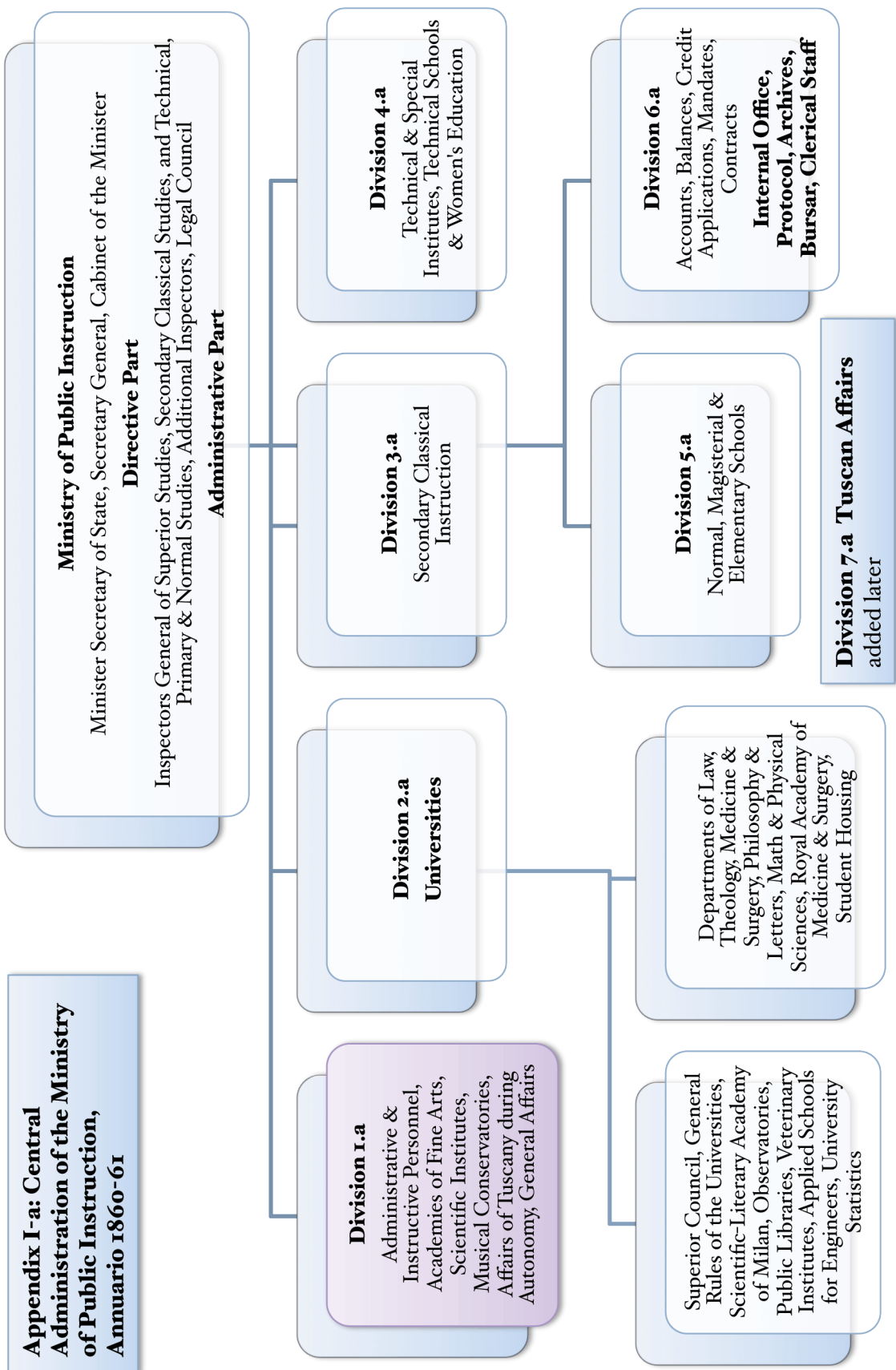
**Organization of the Central Ministry**

**Organization of the Fine Arts Division(s)**

**Central Advisory Boards**

**Provincial Administration**

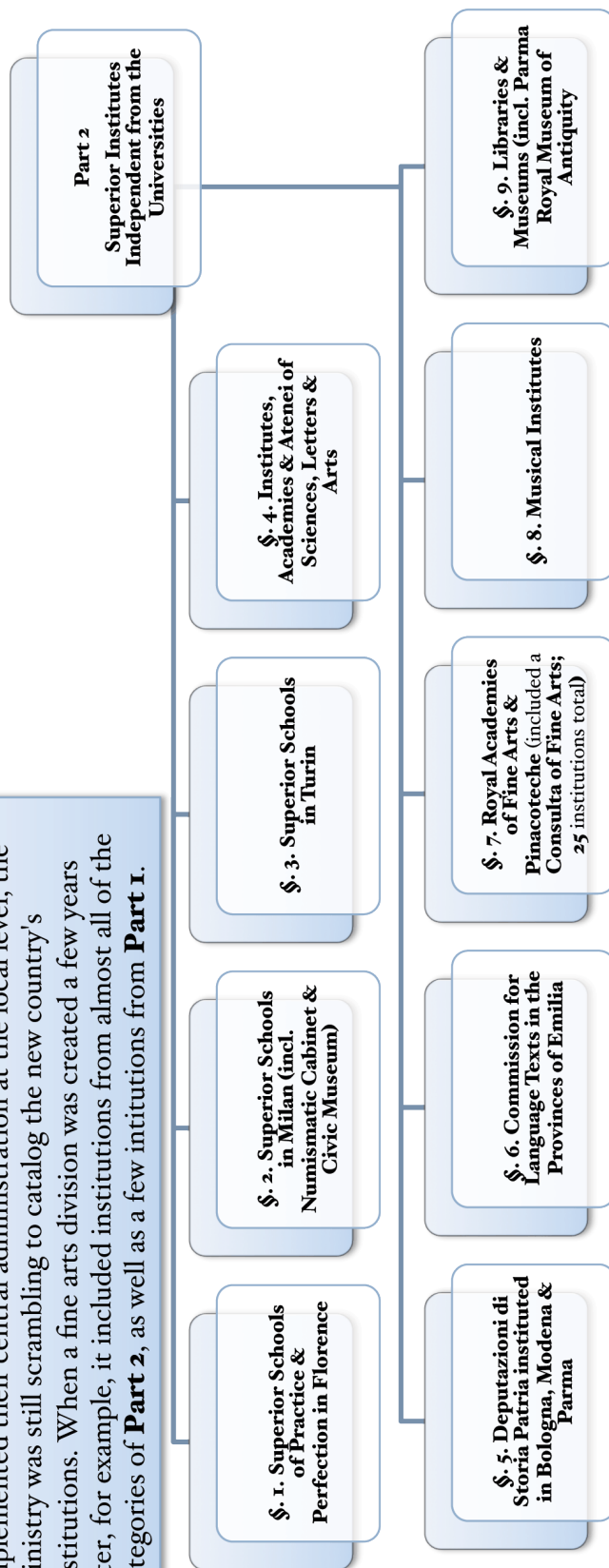
**Restoration Regulations** If legislation deals with personnel or organization, then it will correspond with the most appropriate color. Pink legislation regards responsibilities, requirements, or protocol, particularly with regard to decisions about what merits restoration and conservation (or not) and how restorations should proceed.



## Appendix I-b: Institutions under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction 1860-61

The 1860-61 Annuario listed the institutions under its jurisdiction according to a different paradigm than the one it used for the central administrative divisions. Having not yet fully implemented their central administration at the local level, the ministry was still scrambling to catalog the new country's institutions. When a fine arts division was created a few years later, for example, it included institutions from almost all of the categories of **Part 2**, as well as a few intuitions from **Part 1**.

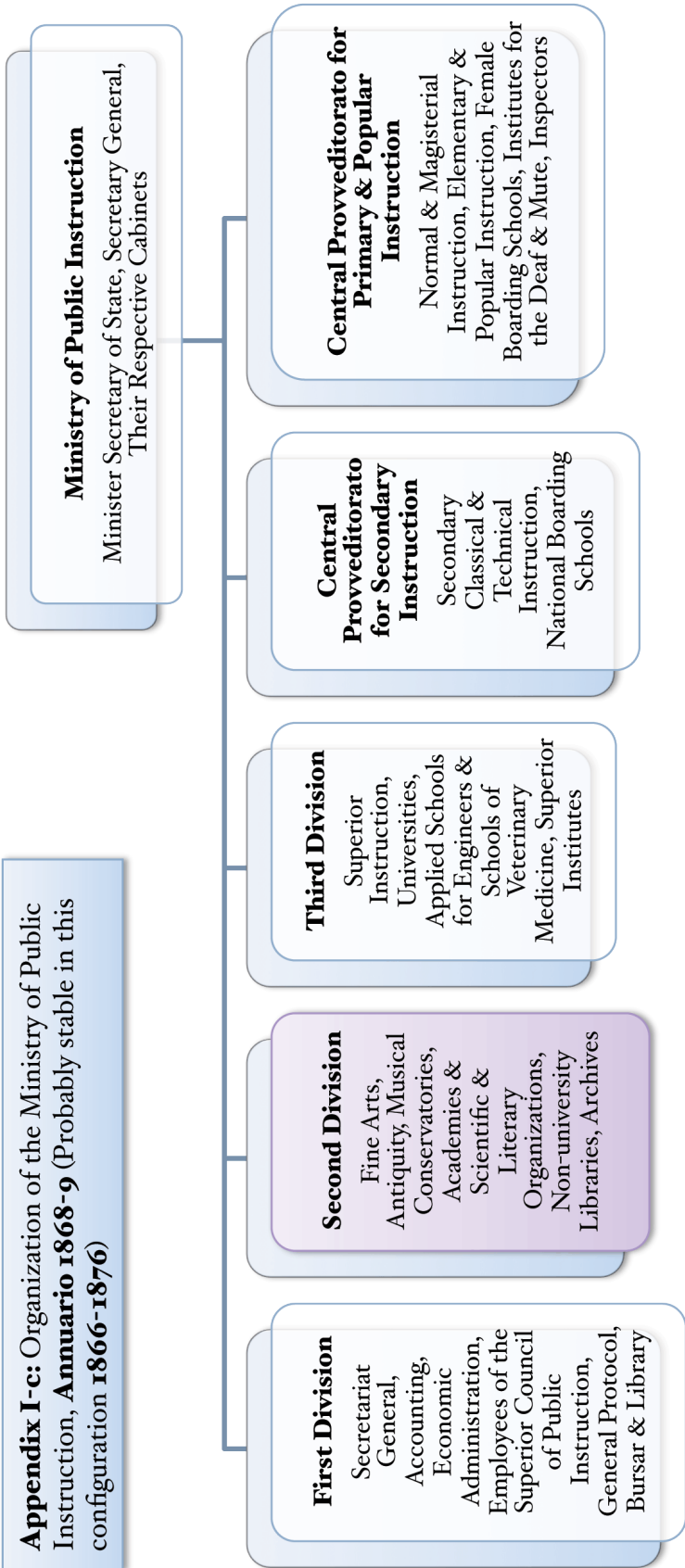
**Part 1** lists **Universities & Their Dependent Institutions**, included the Museum of Antiquity & Egypt affiliated with the Royal College of Charles Albert in Turin & the Museum of Antiquity affiliated with the University of Cagliari



**Part 3 Secondary Classical, Special, Technical, Normal & Elementary Schools** listed by province. Provincial Academic Council, its provveditore (superintendent) & inspectors in each province, followed by all schools listed by district, individual district inspectors at the start of each. In Tuscany, the major cities are listed as "compartments," rather than provinces, without the councils, inspectors, or provveditori. Towns within the compartments are referred to as "communes" rather than districts.

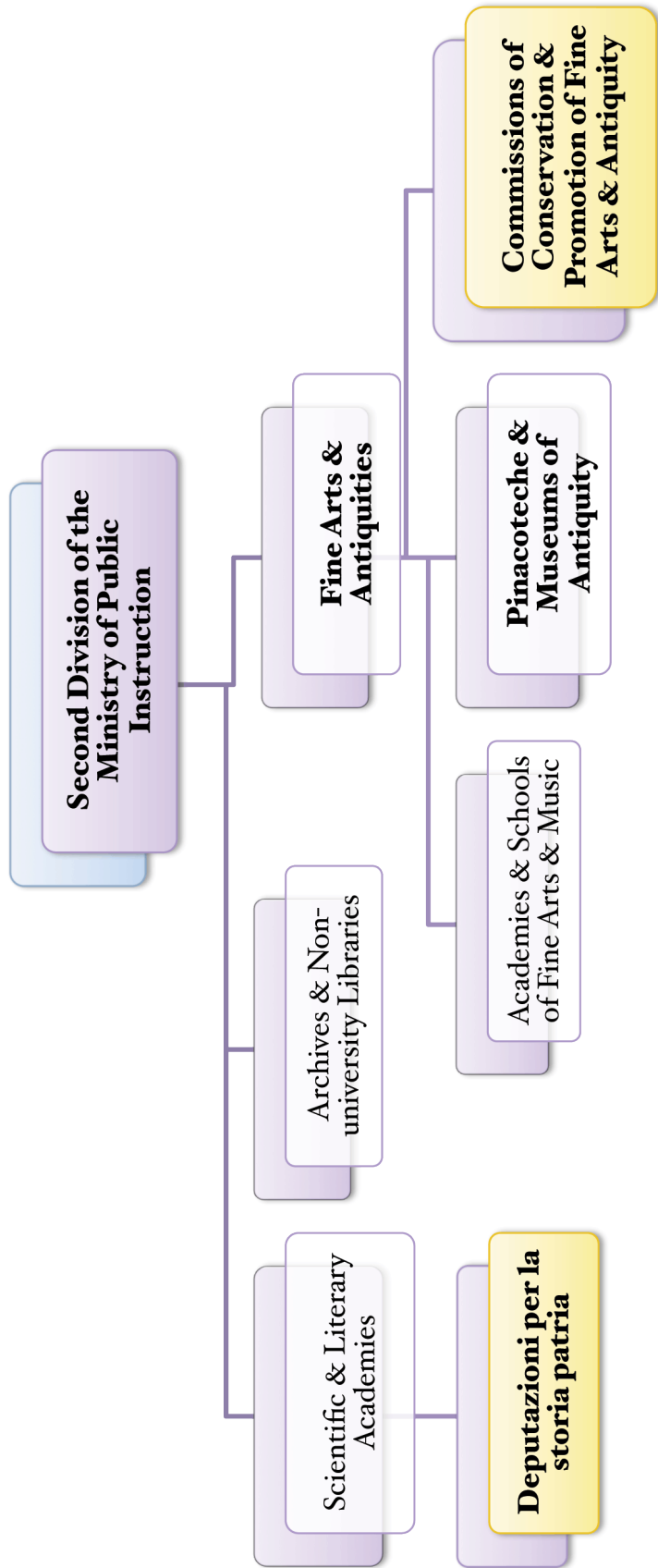
**Part 4 -  
Appendix**  
addenda re:  
newly annexed  
regions

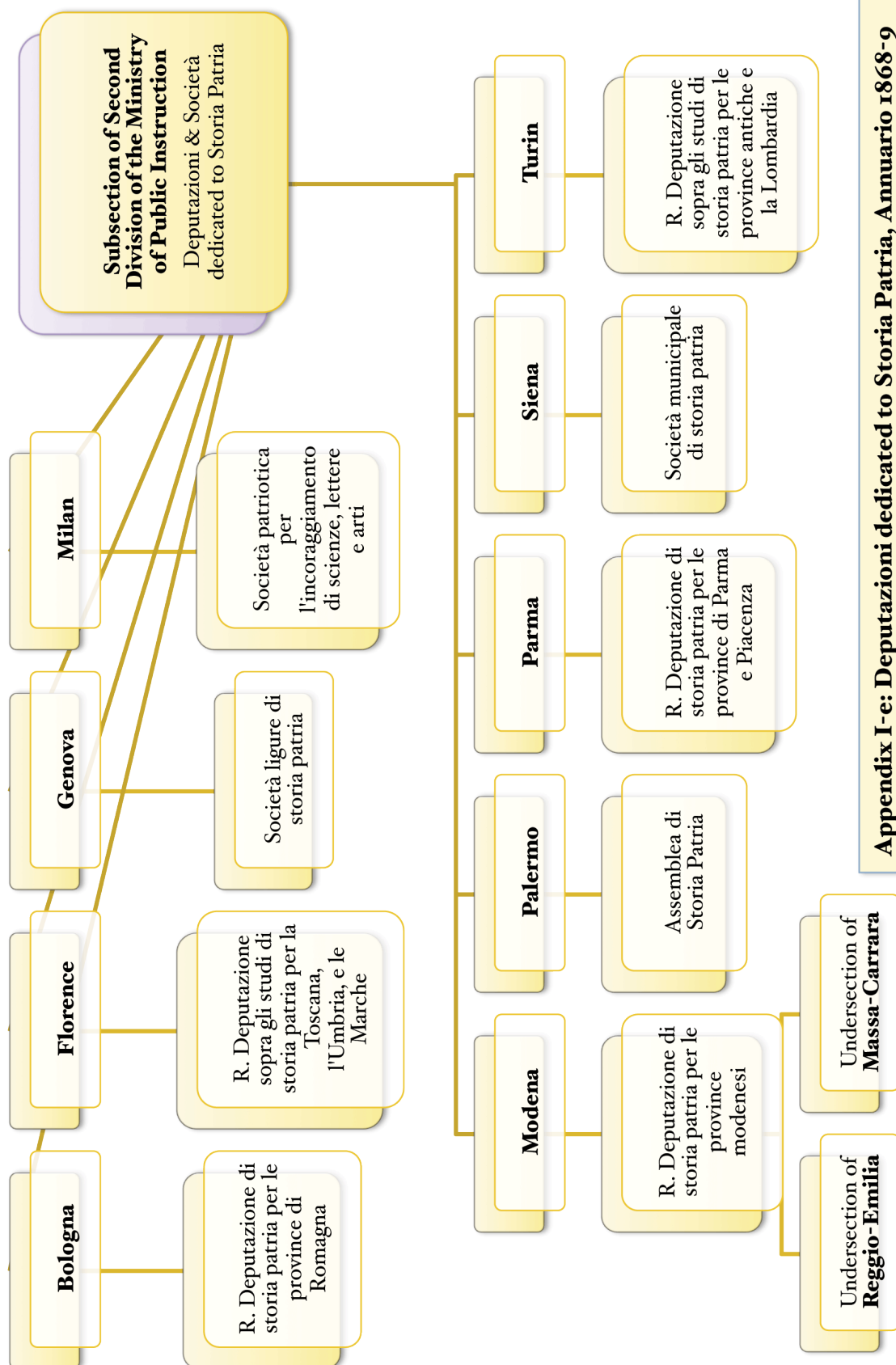
**Appendix I-c: Organization of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Annuario 1868-9** (Probably stable in this configuration 1866-1876)



**Appendix I-d:** Actual local situation in 1860s relating to the conservation of monuments. The deputazioni were early promoters of monument restoration, while the conservation commissions performed early surveillance

Organization of the Ministry of Public Instruction,  
**Annuario 1868-9** (Probably stable in this configuration **1866-1876**)





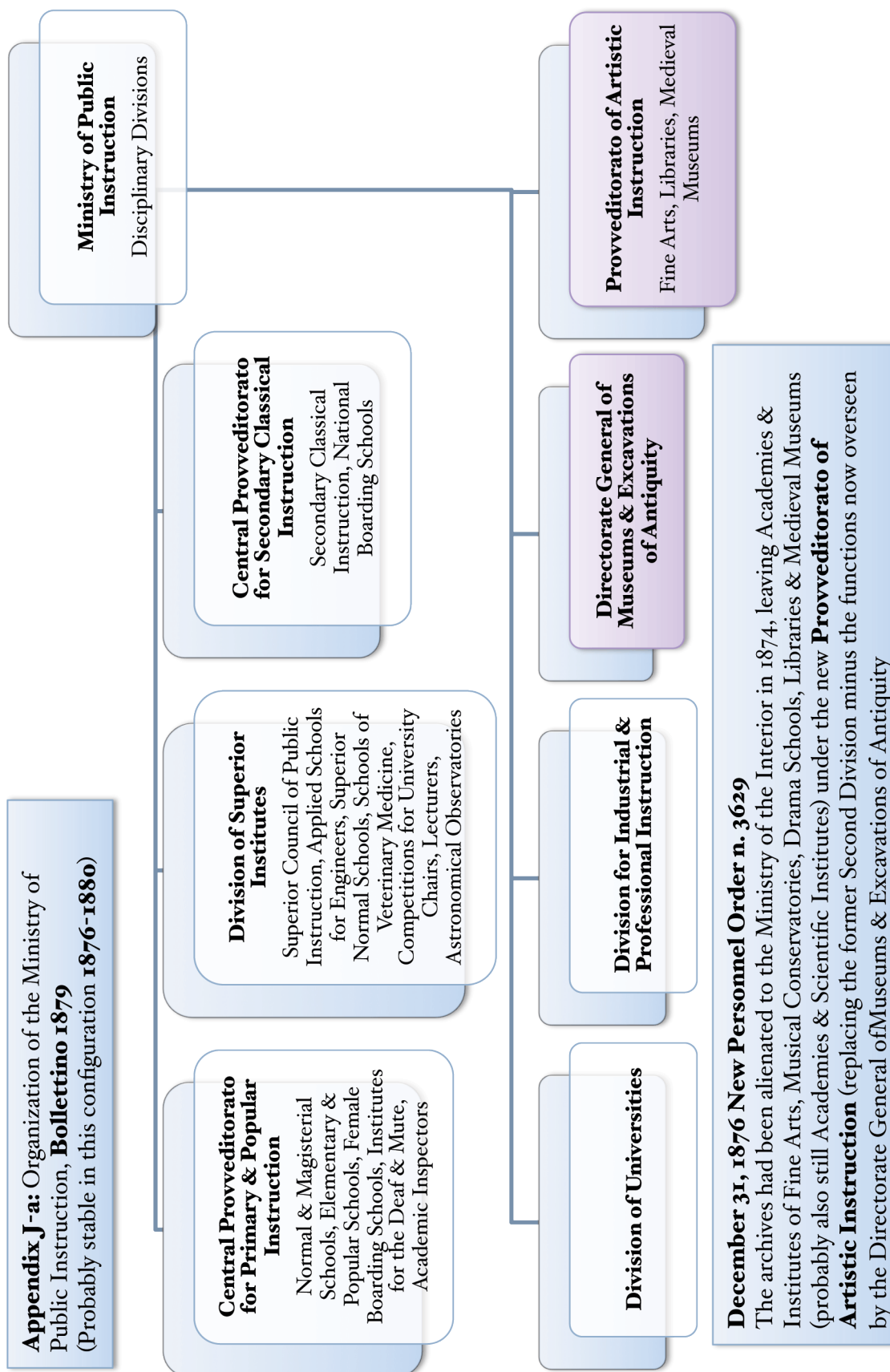
**Appendix I-e: Deputazioni dedicated to Storia Patria, Annuario 1868-9**

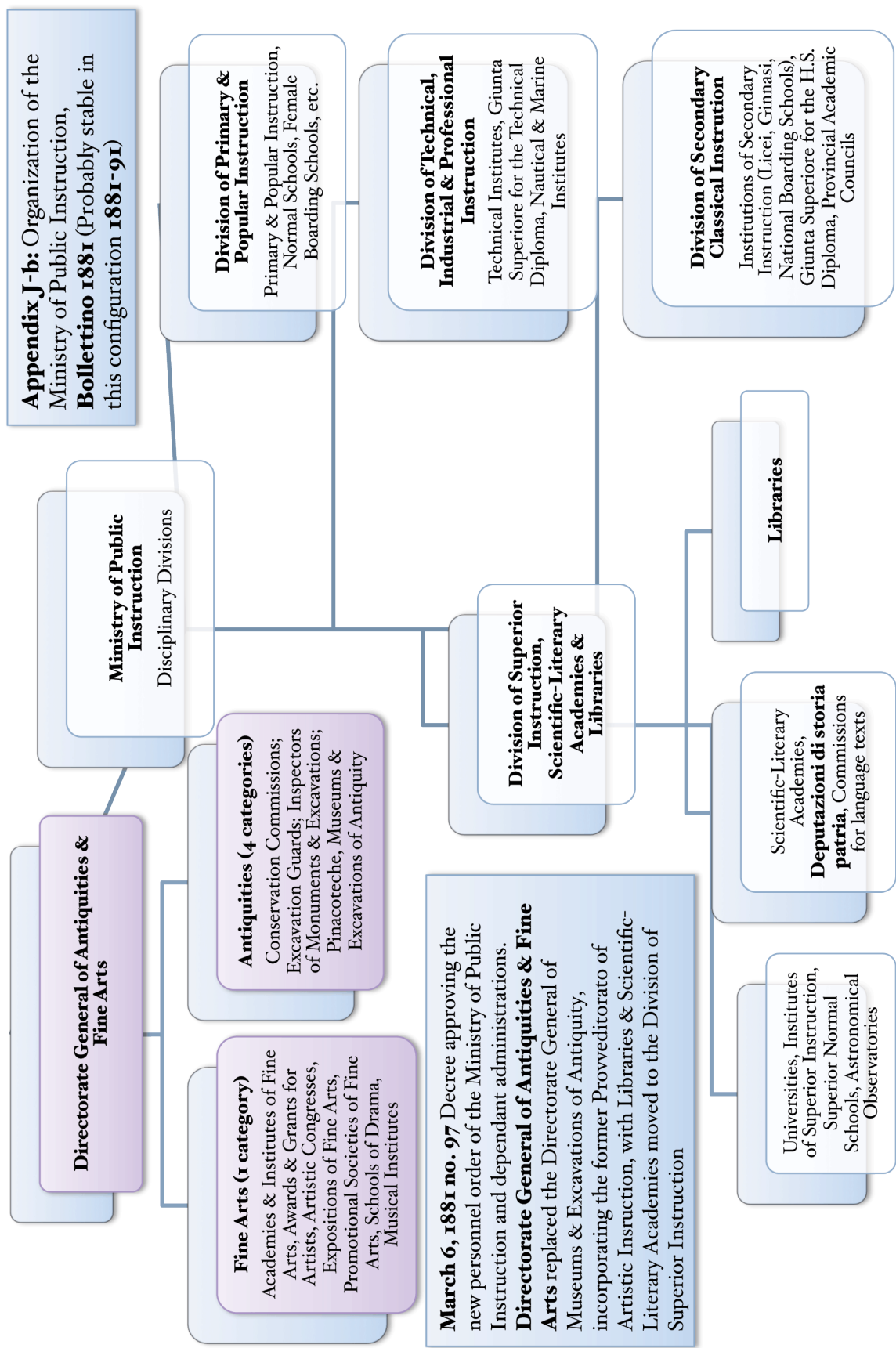
	<b>Appendix I-f: Conservation Commissions in 1868</b>	Subsections
<b>Ancona</b>	Commissione conservatrice dei monumenti e degli oggetti d'antichità	Central section of Ancona
	e belle arti nelle Marche	Section of Pesaro
		Section of Macerata
		Section of Ascoli Piceno
<b>Cagliari</b>	Commissione per la conservazione e pei restauri dei monumenti ed oggetti di antichità e belle arti	
<b>Catanzaro</b>	Commissione provinciale per la conservazione di antichità e belle arti	
<b>Florence</b>	Commissione consultiva di belle arti per le provincie di Firenze e d'Arezzo	
	Società d'incoraggiamento delle belle arti	
<b>Genoa</b>	Commissione consultiva per la conservazione dei monumenti storici e di belle arti	
	Società promotrice delle belle arti	
<b>Lodi</b>	Deputazione per la conservazione dei monumenti storici ed artistici	
<b>Lucca</b>	R. Commissione d'incoraggiamento delle belle arti	
<b>Milan</b>	Museo archeologico	Archaeological section
		Historical Section
	Società promotrice di belle arti	
<b>Modena</b>	Commissione per la conservazione dei lavori pregevoli di belle arti nell'Emilia	
	Società d'incoraggiamento per gli artisti	
<b>Naples</b>	Commissione consultiva di belle arti	
	Museo nazionale, Officina dei papiri ercolanesi, e Scavi d'antichità	Sopr. generale degli scavi e
	Società promotrice delle belle arti	dir. del museo
<b>Padua</b>	Commissione conservatrice dei monumenti d'antichità e belle arti	
<b>Palermo</b>	Commissione d'antichità e belle arti	Central Commission
	Most of the local commissions regard specific archaeological sites, later assumed	Local Commissions: Girgenti
	into other provincial commissions as they are created	Taormina
		Tindari, residente in Patti
		Catania

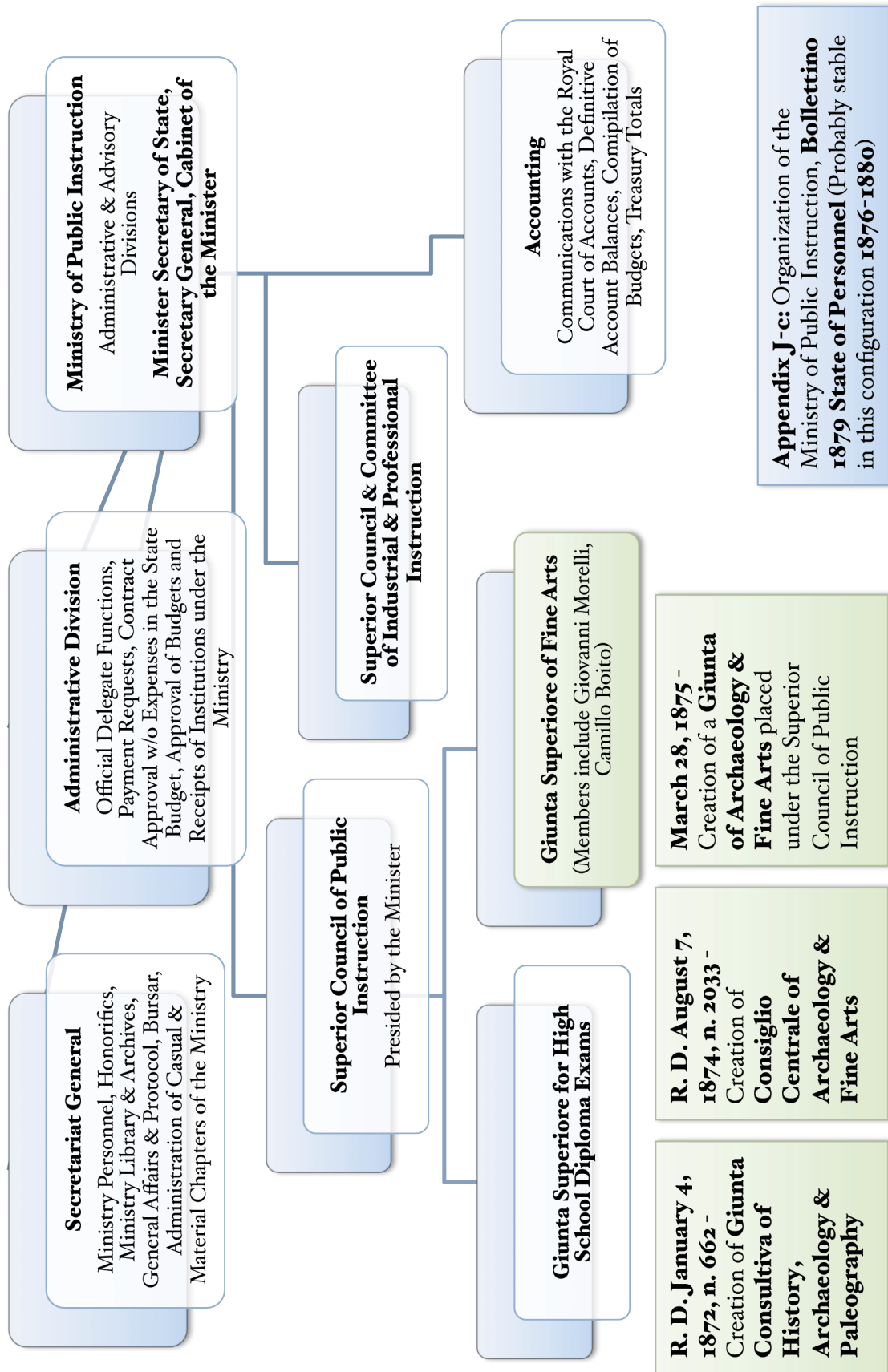
		Centorbi
		Siracusa
		Acre, residente in Palazzolo
		Selinunte, residente in Castelvetro
		Solunto, residente in Santa Flavia
		Cefalù
		Termini
		Messina
		Terranova
		Piazza Armerina
		Marsala
<b>Parma</b>	Società d'incoraggiamento agli artisti di belle arti	
<b>Pavia</b>	Commissione consultiva di belle arti	
<b>Perugia</b>	Commissione consultiva di belle arti	
<b>Pisa</b>	Commissione consultiva di belle arti per le provincie di Pisa e Livorno	
<b>Sassari</b>	Commissione consultiva di belle arti	
<b>Siena</b>	Commissione consultiva di belle arti per le provincie di Siena e Grosseto	
<b>Turin</b>	Consulta di belle arti	
	Società promotrice delle belle arti	
<b>Udine</b>	Commissione archeologica	
<b>Venice</b>	Commissione consultiva di belle arti	
	Società promotrice di belle arti	
	R. Ufficio di conservazione e custodia dell'ex-Palazzo ducale	
<b>Verona</b>	Commissione consultiva conservatrice di belle arti e d'antichità	
<b>Vicenza</b>	Commissione conservatrice di belle arti e d'antichità	

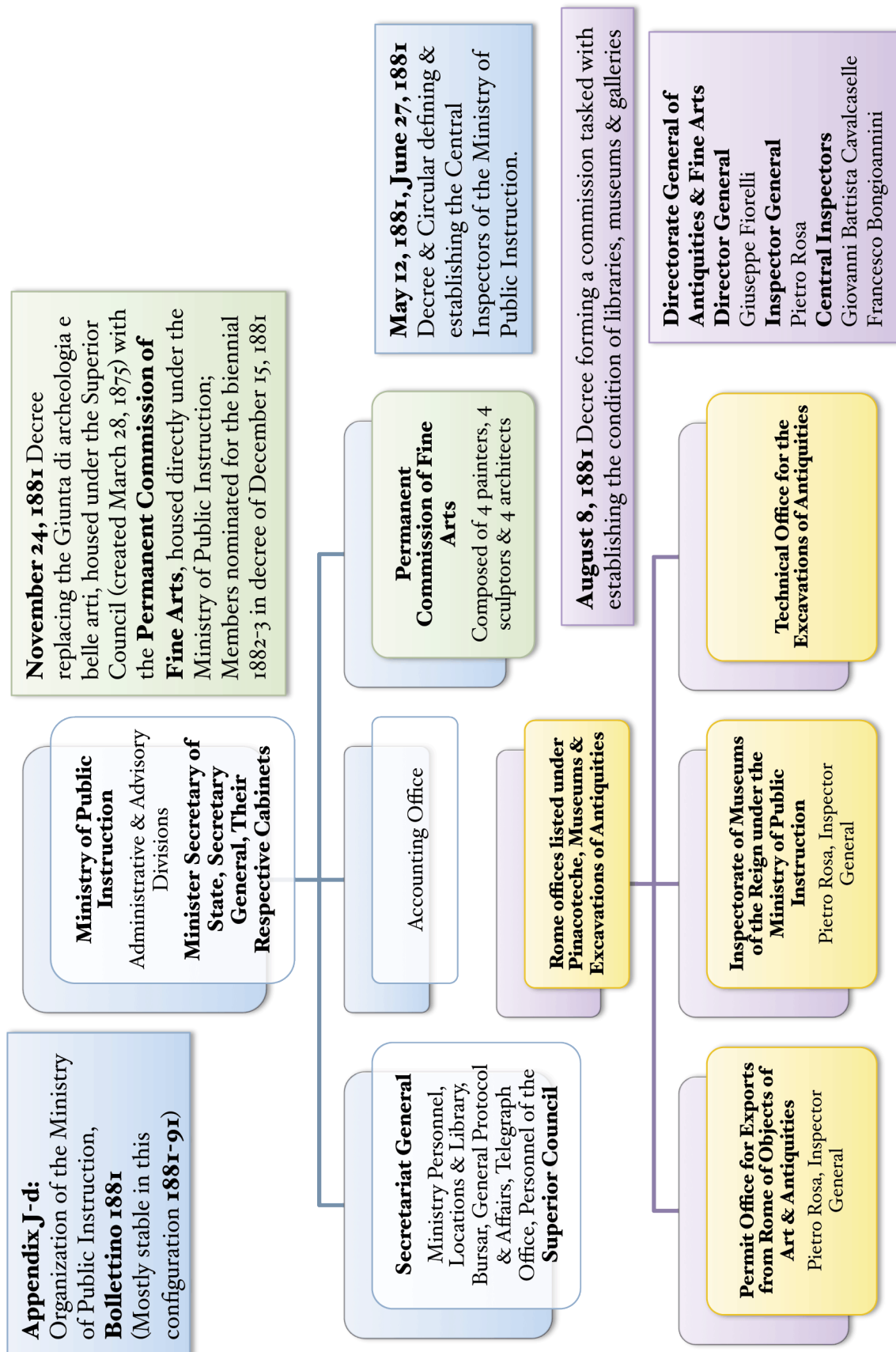


Appendix J  
Institutions & Legislation of the Ministry of Public Instruction  
1870-1888









<b>Appendix J-e: December 31, 1881 State of Personnel: Directorate General of Antiquities &amp; Fine Arts at the Ministry of Public Instruction</b>		<b>Naples</b>	Museo Nazionale e Pinacoteca
			Museo e Pinacoteca di San Martino
<b>Section of Pinacoteche, Museums &amp; Excavations of Antiquities</b>			<b>Ufficio Tecnico degli Scavi di antichità nelle provincie Meridionali</b>
<b>Bologna</b>	<b>Commissariato pei Musei e Scavi delle Marche e dell'Emilia</b>	<b>Palermo</b>	<b>Commissariato pei Musei e Scavi in Sicilia</b>
	Museo di antichità		<b>Monumenti medioevali</b>
<b>Cagliari</b>	<b>Commissariato pei Musei e Scavi di antichità</b>		Museo Nazionale e Pinacoteca
	Museo di antichità	Parma	R. Museo d'antichità
Civiale	Museo archeologico	<b>Rome</b>	Museo Kircheriano
<b>Florence</b>	<b>Commissariato pei Musei e Scavi della Toscana e dell'Umbria</b>		Museo preistorico
	Museo archeologico		<b>Ufficio per le licenze di estrazione da Roma degli oggetti d'arte e di antichità</b>
	Soprintendenza delle Regie Gallerie delle Statue e Palatina, dei Musei Nazionale e di San Marco, e dell'Opificio delle pietre dure		<b>Ispettorato dei Musei del Regno presso il Ministero d'Istruzione</b>
Lucca	Pinacoteca della Commissione di belle arti		<b>Ufficio tecnico per gli Scavi d'antichità</b>
Milan	Gabinetto numismatico	Turin	Museo di antichità ed egizio
	Museo archeologico		Pinacoteca
		Venice	Pinacoteca annessa all'Istituto di belle arti
			Palazzo Ducale
Of all the institutions listed in the category for the Directorate General other than those explicitly for the conservation commissions, the guards, and the inspectors of antiquity, all those highlighted in yellow are also administrative bureaus monitoring excavations and museums, and in the case of Palermo, medieval monuments. It seems that the museums of paintings other than the few pinacoteche listed here are still housed together with the fine arts academies and institutes, listed separately in the generic "fine arts" category in the state of the ministry personnel.		Other categories under 1881 Directorate General: <b>Conservation Commissions of Monuments &amp; Objects of Art &amp; Antiquity; Guards of Excavations of Antiquities; Inspectors of the Excavations &amp; Monuments of Antiquity; Fine Arts</b>	

## Appendix J-f: Budget approved December 23, 1880 for the year 1881

### Expenses for the Deputazioni & Special Commissions

Assistance to the società (societies) di storia patria	£6,600.00
Commissione per la pubblicazione dei testi di lingua nell'Emilia (est. in the decree of November 10, 1871, no. 593) Allocation for a scribe (1,200) + materials	£4,400.00
Deputazione di storia patria in Bologna	£2,300.00
Deputazione di storia patria in Parma	£1,700.00
Deputazione di storia patria in Modena	£1,700.00
Deputazione di storia patria in Torino	£9,400.00
Deputazione di storia patria in Florence	£6,500.00
	<b>£32,600.00</b>

### Academies & Institutes of Fine Arts: Personnel & Materials **£1,161,545.40**

While all other categories are broken down by individual institution, the category of Museums, Excavations & Conservation of Antiquity lists the personnel only centrally, not by location assignment, seemingly because the funds are allocated by royal decrees for the whole organization, not by individual institution. The personnel are divided into two categories: Excavations & Museums, each governed by distinct royal decrees.

#### Ruolo unico degli impiegati addetti al servizio degli scavi (R. Decreto January 18, 1877, no. 3639)

1 Engineer director	£3,500.00
6 engineers of 2 different classes	£13,500.00
4 designers of 2 different classes	£7,000.00
9 supervisors of different classes (1 head supervisor)	£16,900.00
Guards (head of the guards, 8 brigadiers, 108 guards of 3 different classes)	£91,600.00
Other	£1,300.00
	<b>£133,800.00</b>

#### Ruolo unico degli impiegati addetti al servizio dei Musei dello Stato (R. Decreto August 4, 1880, no. 5586)

4 commissioners, 8 directors, 4 vice-directors, 3 inspectors, 108 misc. employees	<b>£180,000.00</b>
<b>Raises &amp; Subsidies</b>	<b>£12,732.00</b>

### Materials

Materials are broken down by location for the museums, totaling	£119,600.00
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General category for ordinary maintenance of archaeological monuments	£12,000.00
Common fund for Museums & Excavations	£55,075.00
Excavations in North Italy	£15,000.00
Excavations in Central Italy	£110,000.00
Excavations in Southern Italy	£70,000.00
Excavations on the Islands of Sicily & Sardegna	£28,000.00
Encouragement to communal & provincial excavations & communal museums	£10,000.00
	<b>£419,675.00</b>

### **Various Additional Fine Arts Expenses**

Subsidy to the Opera of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence	£27,256.65
Acquisition of objects of antiquity for the Galleries & Museums of Tuscany	£6,000.00
To promotional societies of fine arts	£4,468.00
Other	£16,914.86
	<b>£54,639.51</b>

### **Maintenance expenses: Galleries, Museums, Pinacoteche, excavations & conservation of antiquities supplemented by entrance fees**

**£229,800.80**

### **Repair & Conservation of Monuments & Objects of Art**

Commissione d'incoraggiamento of Lucca	£1,336.00
Conservation of the Palazzo Brera in Milan	£14,000.00
Conservation of the Doge's Palace in Venice	£9,876.00
Conservation commissions in Ancona, Ascoli-Piceno, Macerata and Pesaro-Urbino	£3,000.00
Commissione per la conservazione degli oggetti d'arte in Firenze	£1,000.00
Allocations for expenses for the conservation of special monuments of antiquity*	£77,398.72
General allowance for repair of monuments & objects of antiquity & inspections	£251,000.10
Allowance for the churches of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan and San Marco in Venice	£77,778.00
Fixed expense for the repair & conservation of the Duomo of Milan	£122,800.00
	<b>£558,188.82</b>

### **Other Expenses Listed at the end of the report (not in Fine Arts section)**

Fabbricato del Collegio Romano - Roof repair, restoration of new wings, various expenses	£20,000.00
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Restorations to the roof of the Duomo of Orvieto	£22,311.11
Works of general repair to the Palazzo Ducale	£57,000.00
Preparation of the archaeological map of Italy, research of the history of museums & excavations of the realm	£4,000.00
Urgent restorations of the acqueduct of San Matteo d'Arcetri in Florence	£4,707.68
	<b>£108,018.79</b>
<b>Total Allocated for Fine Arts, Museums, Restorations, Excavations</b>	<b>£2,891,000.32</b>

\*Allocations for the following buildings:

Convento dei Gerolomini di S. Filippo in Napoli	£6,500.00
Certosa di S. Martino in Napoli	£7,000.00
Certosa di Calci (Pisa)	£2,996.72
Chiesa della Martorana (Palermo)	£3,800.00
Chiesa di S. Giovanni degli Eremiti (Palermo)	£500.00
Convento dei Benedettini (Monreale)	£6,000.00
Convento di Montevergine (Mercogliano)	£4,000.00
Certosa di Pavia	£1,240.00
Badia Nullius (Montecassino)	£26,000.00
Badia della SS. Trinità in Cava de'Terreni (Salerno)	£5,402.00
Convento di Monteoliveto in Asciano	£560.00
Badia di Trisulti in Collepardo	£1,000.00
Convento di Santa Scolastica e San Benedetto in Subiaco	£1,800.00
Convento dei Basiliani in Grottaferrata	£1,800.00
Chiesa & Convento di Santa Maria della Quercia in Viterbo	£1,000.00
Convento de'Casimari in Veroli	£2,600.00
Convento de'Certosini in Trisulti in Fossanova	£1,300.00
Certosa del Galluzzo in Firenze	£2,300.00
care & maintenance of the Basilica di Santo Apollinare in Classe fuori Ravenna	£1,600.00
	<b>£77,398.72</b>

## Appendix J-g 1882 Personnel

March 13, 1882

Given the provision made in chapters 24 and 26 of the past balance of the Ministry of Public Instruction for the year of 1882; —

Given our decree of the same date, concerning the separation of the galleries, pinacoteche, and the museums of antiquity from the institutes of instruction to which until now they had been united; — considering the utility of collecting in one personnel order all the personnel of museums, excavations, galleries, pinacoteche, **and to the custody of national monuments**, so that each institute can be assigned the number of employees necessary; — on the proposal of our Minister Secretary of State for Public Instruction; — we have decreed and we decree:

Art. 1. Abolished starting from July 1, 1882:

- a) The personnel order of the employees in the service of State Museums, approved with the decree of August 4, 1880 n. 5586 (2<sup>nd</sup> series).
- b) The personnel order of the employees in the service of excavations of antiquity, approved with the R. D. January 18, 1877 n. 3639 (2<sup>nd</sup> series).
- c) The personnel order for the custody of the Palazzo di Brera in Milan, approved with our decree of April 10, 1879 n. 4885 (2<sup>nd</sup> series).
- d) The personnel order of custody of the Palazzo Ducale of Venice, approved with our decree of December 12, 1880 n. 5797 (2<sup>nd</sup> series).
- e) The order of the Statue Gallery, the Palatine Gallery, the Opificio delle pietre dure, the National Museum, and the Museum of San Marco in Florence, approved with our decrees of August 14, 1879 n. 5043 (2<sup>nd</sup> series); April 4, 1880 n. 5378 (2<sup>nd</sup> series), and February 20, 1881 n. 82 (3<sup>rd</sup> series).
- f) The order of the employees of the pinacoteca of Torino, approved with the R. D.s of November 18, 1869 n. 5346 and January 13, 1876 n. 2931.
- g) The order of the employees of the Commissione Consultiva of Fine Arts of the Province of Lucca, approved with R. D. March 30, 1871 n. 200.

Art. 2. Suppressed beginning July 1, 1882:

a) The position of inspector of the pinacoteca and two janitorial positions in the personnel order of the Regio Institute of Fine Arts of Bologna, approved with the R. D. September 23, 1877, n. 4081.

b) The position of inspector of the galleries, two janitorial positions, and one sweeper in the personnel order of the Regio Institute of Fine Arts of Modena, approved with R. D. September 23, 1877 n. 4082.

c) The positions of inspector and inspector adjunct of the galleries, two janitorial positions, one sweeper and the janitorial custodian of the camera of San Paolo in the personnel order of the Regio Institute of Fine Arts of Parma, approved with R. D. September 23, 1877 n. 4083.

d) The positions of conservator and gallery custodian the custodian of Da Vinci's Last Supper room, and the custodian of the Arch of Peace, as well as two janitorial positions at Lit. 900 each, in the personnel order of the Regia Academy of Fine Arts of Milan, approved with our decree October 29, 1879 n. 5149.

e) Two custodial positions at Lit. 1,200 each in the personnel order of the Regio Institute of Fine Arts of Florence, approved with the R. D. January 14, 1877, n. 3653.

f) The position of inspector of the pinacoteca and two gallery custodian positions, as well as an under-janitor in the personnel order of the Regio Institute of Fine Arts in Venice, approved with our decree of September 8, 1878, n. 4519.

The personnel order of the employees of museums, galleries, excavations, and national monuments attached to the present decree and signed by our order by the minister secretary of State for Public Instruction is approved. It will be in effect starting on July 1 1882.

**Service for the execution of works of restoration of monuments**  
(Ministerial circular, July 21, 1882)

Having recognized the need to coordinate the directive criteria for the study of the restoration of monuments and for the drawing up of the corresponding projects, and having recognized the opportunity for unifying the system of the service for the execution of those works such that they are aimed at the best conservation of that which interests history or art, the Ministry

Determines § 1. — *Study of restorations.* — The study of the restorations will be done by means of an historical and artistic examination of the monument, which allows the establishment of what should be conserved in the interest of history or art, what damages have been suffered and what works should be completed to eliminate these damages and impede their repetition as much as possible.

The historical and artistic examination should be done with the archive of historical documents and with the direct study of the monument, resorting, where necessary, to suitable steps [*tastí*].

You shall recognize with the greatest possible precision for the building as a whole, and for its individual elements, considered in successive epochs going back to the original one, not only the desired end and the distribution and proportions adopted to respond to it, but also the nature and manufacture of the chosen materials and the technical execution and the decoration that was used.

And you shall highlight the true value from every point of view, and the normal state compared with the actual state, of the individual elements of the building and of the individual modifications.

Having completed this examination, you shall establish what should be conserved, differentiating the elements that have true importance for history or for art and must be respected, and those that do not have such importance and can be altered or eliminated (suppressed).

The difference between the normal state and the actual state will determine the damages suffered and what must be conserved; and the works that will be carried out will be determined by the works necessary to reactivate and maintain, as much as possible, the normal state.

Suitable drawings of the building as a whole and in detail will complete the study, representing the monument with distinct figures as exactly as possible, in its actual state and in the other states through which it has passed, as well as the one to be realized through restoration.

When dealing with restorations of monumental buildings, or elements of these buildings that clearly should be conserved in their entirety, the study can be summary; provided that with attention to the aforementioned criteria, it lead to the exact determination of the normal state in comparison with the actual, and to the determination of the damages suffered and the necessary works to eliminate them.

§ 2. — *Drawing up the projects.* — Whether general or partial restorations, the projects shall always consist of a report, drawings, estimate of the works, and circumstances of their execution.

The report will consist of studies done to determine the damages suffered and the works necessary, and will be accompanied by all the necessary documents and indications to prevent or eliminate doubts that might present themselves to whomever shall judge the suitability of the restorations with a simple perusal of the project, without any special knowledge of the monument.

The drawings shall be at a 1/100 scale for the whole building, and at 1/10 or greater for the details; there shall be plans, sections, perspectives, and details, colored in order to exactly present the character of the monument; and whenever possible, to include a photograph of the building or detail.

The work estimate will be made with metric computation, with analysis of the prices and estimated math, according to the norms commonly adopted for other public works,

distinguishing works of appraisal from the physical, and separately calculating those that must be done on a budget.

The circumstances of the execution, for both works of measurement or physical, to be done with regular contracts (in which case they should be accompanied by the contracts), as well as works to be done in budget, must be derived by the suggestions from the study of the monument, and correspond to the norms stabilized in the report to assure that the works respond to the intent.

The restorations for which evidently nothing of importance for history or art will be altered, may be planned, applying in a summary way the foregoing norms, with a report derived from a summary study, with demonstrative drawings or with suitable photographs, with a simple estimate and with the principal circumstances of execution.

§ 3 — Organization of the service for the execution of works. — The employees to study the restoration and compile the corresponding projects must comply with these norms, and operate in concert with the representatives of the conservation commissions of monuments and with those of the Civil Engineering Corps of the provinces where the works will be carried out.

With the projects completed, they will present them to the respective prefectures, for the examination and approval of the conservation commissions regarding historical and artistic matters, and by the Civil Engineering Corps regarding technical and administrative matters.

With the projects definitively approved and their execution authorized, the direction of restorations shall be entrusted to the drafters, under the surveillance of the representatives of both the conservation commissions and the Civil Engineering Corps for the respective parts that concern them.

The inspection will be done by the conservation commissions and by the Civil Engineering Corps, or by special delegates of the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Ministry of Public Works, depending on the importance of the works.

**On the restorations of monumental buildings**

(Ministerial circular, **July 21, 1882**, n. 683*bis*, to the prefects presiding over the kingdom's conservation commissions of monuments)

I communicate to this prefecture a few guidelines regarding the restorations of monumental buildings, which must be adopted provisionally, in anticipation of the necessary readjustment of the service for the conservation of monuments.

And in order to assure the best interpretation, I attach certain clarifications you should keep in mind, as much as possible, in the works being carried out.

The rules for the study of restorations aim to assure a good knowledge of the monuments, and are thus able to avoid the errors that are regularly occurring now, succumbing to unnecessary refacings, which often do not respect the ancient, either in form or substance, to repristinations with which historic traces or elements of construction or decoration with some historic or artistic importance, to insufficiently studied refurbishments imposing questionable interpretations, which may even be demonstrated to be erroneous.

These rules must be enforced with alertness that in order to have a perfect cognition of a monument, it is necessary to redo on it all the work of the minds that imagined it. So that as much as the concept it is the purpose that is recognized, through the study of historic documents and the direct study of the constructions, the exigencies of the times in which the building was constructed or modified, and the means with which they realized these exigencies; thus, the *desired end* and the *distribution* and the *proportions* adopted to achieve them are the same in the act in which the building was conceived originally and in those in which the modifications are determined.

With regard to the execution of the restorations, it is necessary that you recognize, again by way of historic documents and the direct study of the constructions, the means with which they were able or had to achieve them, and the modes with which they gave form and beauty to the primitive concept and to the successive modifications: with these things in mind that you choose the *nature* and the *manufacture of the materials*, and the *technical execution* and the *decoration* to be employed.

This formula of study puts you in shape to determine, with the full security of judgment, the true value in historic, technical, and artistic traces of the individual elements and the individual modifications of the building, and the state they were in when they began to exist, in other words, their normal state, thus having a perfect cognition of the monument.

Moreover, the rules must be applied taking care that, in order to avoid the above-mentioned errors, it is necessary to direct the restorations to the best conservation of all that which interests history or art, determining with the greatest care works that will eliminate the damages suffered and impede in the greatest way possible that they happen again.

To which end it is necessary that (distinguishing that which has true importance for history or art and must be respected, from that which does not have such importance and can be altered or eliminated (suppressed)) you establish exactly all that which must be conserved; and comparing the normal state with the actual that you make note of the differences and the damages suffered, that is, the corrosions, the demolitions, the additions, the reconstructions, the variations of stability that have altered the economy of the monument.

Having identified the damages in this way, next you must deduce from them the works to be done, aimed at eliminating the differences between the actual state and the normal state, in other words, reactivating and maintaining *as much as possible* the normal state in all that which must be conserved.

When you encounter corrosions, you should determine whether they occurred from the action of time or that of man, and in either case whether they impact the stability of the building.

Depending on whether from the action of time or that of man, it will be determined the measures of science or art to be used to eliminate these actions or avoid damage where they cannot be eliminated.

And depending whether the structure is stable or not, you shall determine the patching or partial surface refacing that will return to the constructive or decorative fabric its antique continuity, reproducing in form and substance in substitution to this fabric.

The patches and the partial refacing must be limited such that you do not substitute more than necessary, and they must be executed with great care so that they do not later present patches that put the monuments in worse conditions than before.

In cases where demolitions have occurred, you must determine if they simply modified a part of the monument and if, moreover, they might alter its stability.

In the first case, you should use partial or total reconstructions depending on the need, so that it is demonstrated that the alteration of the antique whose elimination is desired does not have any value in itself, nor resulted in a work that might have value for history or for art; and it must be demonstrated moreover that it is possible with the reproductions to reproduce exactly in form and substance that which existed before.

And when, beyond the elimination of the alteration of the ancient, interventions are necessary to guarantee the building's stability, you must reconstruct whatever is necessary, even if you do not have the certainty to reproduce the antique exactly, seeing that the alterations resulting from the demolitions, or made possible because of them, do not have any value.

When you are dealing with additions, you must again determine whether they simply hide part of the monument and whether they can alter its stability.

And in the first case, you should use the necessary demolitions to reveal the antique, demonstrating that what you desire to demolish does not have value, and on the flipside, that what you want to uncover has notable importance and merits revelation.

In the second case, dealing with avoiding that the stability be altered, you shall determine the necessary demolitions, if the antique also does not have such importance to absolutely merit its revelation, provided that what is to be demolished does not have value either for history or for art.

And for the antique that is discovered, that has suffered corrosions and demolitions, it is to be treated as those already discovered.

For reconstructions to which the monument has been subjected, you shall determine the cases in which they recalled the antique, and those in which they did not recall the antique.

In the first case, you shall establish only the repairs necessary unless you have absolute certainty to be able to substitute them with a new work that exactly reproduces the antique, which can be adopted in whole or in part according to need.

In the second case, you shall partially or totally substitute (according to need) the new reconstructions, which reproduce the antique, or at least recall it in the best possible way.

For structural alterations, keeping in mind their nature and extent, you shall determine the cases in which it is possible to return the monument to its normal static conditions, without substituting new material to the antique, and those in which such substitution is indispensable.

So that you recognize where you need to remove the parts where the structure has been altered and their recomposition with antique material, and where refacing is appropriate; and so that you can also recommend ligaments and other works of reinforcement or of consolidation that might be necessary to impede the renewal of the damages.

The removal of the parts where the structure has been altered, and their reconstruction with old material, shall be determined in a way that exactly reproduces the antique static conditions.

The necessary reconstructions shall be determined distinguishing the works from the various epochs, in which be obtained in each work, as with the patches, an exact reproduction in form and substance to what used to exist.

And if deconstruction and reconstruction are not possible, or if there is reason to fear the repetition of damage, after partial reconstructions have been carried out, you shall determine the ligaments of reinforcement, or the other works that will be necessary in the various particular cases, in a way that guarantees the building's stability without altering any of the monument.

In every other case of patching, partial refacing, partial or total reconstructions, etc. even if you believe it is possible, you may not attempt to do better than the ancients, but that which you must absolutely redo, be redone as it was, so that the monument remain with its true character, to testify to the work of the various epochs through which it has passed [I guess its testimony to the present epoch shall be these very restorations!]

Studying the restorations with such criteria and documented in suitable drawings, under the norms stated here, of course you may proceed with drawing up the project and executing the works, with the faith of having made possible a satisfying result.



December 31, 1881 **State of Personnel:** Directorate General of Antiquities & Fine Arts at the Ministry of Public Instruction

**May 9, 1881 Ministerial decree modifying the Service for the Extraction of Objects of Antiquity & Works of Art from the Province of Rome** (est. February 15, 1877) in order to make verification of these objects easier for the exporters:

The permits will be granted at the appointed office at Central Customs at the train station by the inspector general of museums & excavations. The applications must be presented at the aforementioned office to the inspector general, who will verify the objects to be exported. The office will be open from 9 AM - 3 PM every day except Sunday. Nothing is changed in terms of the right to the permit or the tax on ancient objects due to the State Treasury.

**May 29, 1881** regarding articles 12, 83 & 84 of the law of June 25, 1865, no. 2359 & the status report completed July 10, 1880 by the Royal Civic Engineering Corps, regarding the Palombella bakery and its annexes, and the house above it on via della Rotonda # 31, 32 & 33;

Having considered the good of returning the distinguished building of the Pantheon to its ancient state, removing the severe disgrace of the modern constructions, which, attached to the monument, deface it and conceal the precious advances of the Terme di Agrippa,

The Ministry of Public Instruction, the Direzione generale delle antichità e belle arti declare the works of demolition of the buildings described in the above evaluation, owned by the heirs of the deceased Francesco Lasagni, in the public good .

**July 1, 1881** Circular establishing **Norms for the protection of objects of antiquity to be observed in municipal contracts for works of the public good**

Often it happens that there is no clause to protect ancient objects that are sometimes found during such works. When that happens, very often the contractors believe they have a right to keep things that deserve to be placed in museums.

To impede this inconvenience, the Ministry implores the prefects to make the necessary recommendations to all the mayors in their province, so that the patriotic memories be preserved for the heritage of the nation, making sure to put the necessary clauses in contracts, and directing the objects to the closest museum, whether of the state or the province, when the commune does not have its own collection of antiquities.

The inspector of excavation and monuments living closest to the location of the excavation should be alerted to every discovery, lest by means of such authority the regulations are furthered, that they be of use for study, and that they bring the growth of the museums of the realm.

**Appendix J-j:** Decrees & Circulars regarding extraction of object of art & antiquity

**Institution of Regional Delegates for National Monuments**  
(Ministerial Decree, November 27, 1884)

Considering that the current list of national monuments does not actually comprise all the buildings of interest for history or for art, and thus it is impossible to know which and how many among these buildings as yet unwritten in the aforementioned list have greater need of repair;

Having considered that even prior to the legislative ordinances on the organization of the archaeological service of the kingdom, it was urgent to impede the dilapidation of many of these buildings; — *decree*:

Art. 1. In each region of the kingdom a delegate of the Ministry shall propose the modifications to be made to the current list of national monuments, revising it to comprise all the sacred and profane buildings from the most ancient temples to the entire seventeenth century that for any reason merit conservation, indicating the current state and necessary work to achieve good static conditions.

Art. 2. The aforementioned list shall be given to the Conservation Commissions by the Ministry for the observations they should do with them.

Art. 3. The expenses incurred to the revision of the aforementioned list, shall fall to chapter 28 article 5 of the current balance and on the corresponding chapters of the following exercises, for now limited to Lit. 3,000.

The present decree shall be registered at the Court of accounts.

**Norms for the Execution of the Ministerial Decree instituting the Regional Delegates**

(Ministerial Circular to the prefects and commissioners of excavations, June 6, 1885, n. 776)

I transmit to V. S. a copy of the ministerial decree of November 27, 1884 with which governmental delegates were entrusted with the mission to revise the list of national monuments in the various regions of the kingdom.

This revision was imposed for very serious reasons, demonstrated through long experience that proceeding with the existing catalog alone renders the Ministry's work ineffective and deleterious. And since the task assigned to the delegates is to repair the noted defects, as V. S. will see in the copy of the circular I attach here, and since that task cannot be completed without the authorized help of the prefects of the kingdom, thus I appeal to the zeal for the conservation of historic patrimony, of which this prefecture has continuously offered proof, so that you offer also this time your valid accord to all the desired facilitation of this work, that without delay must be conducted to its end.

Consisting for now in the recognition of the monuments, so that those added in the catalog those erroneously omitted and rooted out others that were wrongly included, an exact list of all the buildings meriting government protection be made. And because the simple listing of the monument is not enough, but because descriptions and complete records are necessary, that will best highlight the motivation to be induced to works of repair, the prefecture shall recommend to the representatives of the province, the communes, the private individuals, and moral entities in possession of monumental buildings, to facilitate the delegates' task; who should be able to freely access the buildings, and complete whatever studies lacking which would render their proposals incomplete.

If in this province there are monumental buildings that do not belong to moral entities or private individuals, but dependent on state administrations, please advise me, and it will be my responsibility to directly obtain the desired permissions.

So that then such permissions of the authority of the prefecture be most efficacious, the delegates of this Ministry shall have at their disposition all documents that relate these monuments, both those possessed by the prefecture, and those they might otherwise procure; and that the same prefecture prescribe to the engineers of the Civil Engineering Corps of the province and of the communes, to lend their help, and to give the necessary aide, that would be difficult to obtain from others.

If with these subsidies and with others, that can be given by the archives, academies of fine arts, the schools of engineers, some other means are still necessary, without which the delegates cannot fulfill their mandate; if for the descriptions of monuments and for the proposals of works to be done, some works are necessary that are not available in public libraries; if photographs are necessary that are not available for purchase, but must be executed, I will have no difficulty to see to them, enabled once, it will be impossible for the Ministry otherwise to procure the requested subsidies.

I will later communicate to V. S. the resolutions that the Ministry will take, after the work of the delegates in complete, with regard to the works to be done for the conservation of monuments of this province.

**Norms for the Execution of the Ministerial Decree that instituted the Regional Delegates**

(Ministerial Circular to Regional Delegates, June 6, 1885, n. 775)

I send to the S. V. a copy of the ministerial decree of Nov. 27, 1884, with which it was established that a delegate of this Ministry, after having examined the current list of national monuments, shall propose its revision, urgently requested to be able to better manage the Government's work of conserving historic memories.

I do not need to repeat to the S. V. the reasons for which the reform was imposed, by now very well known, that in the former list, buildings of little importance were included, and others that merit the protection of public administration, whether for historic regard or artistic prestige, were missing; without saying that those classifications were overlooked, which must still be made, so that the funds be assigned fairly by the national representation for the conservation of monuments.

Let it be added that in addition to being inexact, the old list was also insufficiently compiled; and that our suggestions to repair that defect have not had effect so far, first and foremost to ascertain the state the monuments are in; information without which it is impossible to make informed decisions about which works of restoration should be made at the expense of the Treasury. And the S. V. well knows that for this reason it can happen, as has already happened, that large sums are spent on works that could with no consequence have been put off, and others are neglected to irreparable detriment.

It is not only the lack of these necessary updates that are to be deplored, but it is also bad to lack a real and proper State Testimony, without which it is absolutely impossible the exact delivery of the monument to he who should be called to respond.

Finally, concrete projects are lacking to put the buildings in the structural conditions in which to be certain that the rapid progressive decay is impeded; and thus it can be said that all means necessary to make the full proposals to Parliament that it requested, to be able to judge the necessity of new allocations in the budget for this arm of the public service.

So to repair these issues, and offer the Ministry the necessary means to effectively exercise its office, the delegates must, in all their competence and zeal, rewrite the list, and describe the monuments according to topographical order and according to their importance; they shall also supply the information, the lack of which has rendered the government's actions until now useless.

And so that this reform be implemented with the new administrative year, this circular shall also implement new norms, which after the accords that V. S. will have made here in Rome with your honorable colleagues, will execute their work in all the kingdom in the uniform character requested, in order to better respond to their office.

To this end, you shall see if the old list for the region of your jurisdiction includes the summary indication of all the monuments that are worth of governmental care; otherwise to add those that have been omitted, and to remove others that have been wrongly included. And since it is necessary to indicate the reasons a monument is considered worth of consideration, the delegates must include all historic memories they refer to and include these with the description of the monument's artistic merit, in order to then classify all of them in three orders: those of national importance, regional importance, and local importance.

In this work it shall be made clear where the new list has added to the primitive list; that is that it be clear which buildings were added and which removed, with the corresponding reasons that led to propose the one or the other measure.

With the list thus determined, accompanied by the aforementioned information, next you shall describe the monument's state of conservation, noting what is desired in terms of extraordinary repairs or for ordinary maintenance, or both; the description of which may be accompanied by drawings or photographs, so that all the elements are present to determine the true actual conditions of the building, and therefore be able to argue for the needed works.

And so that such descriptions may also serve as State witnesses, and be valid for the assignment of the monument to who must respond to it, the delegates should also include

the corresponding information from the catasto, indicating the name of the building owner and whoever it is currently entrusted.

With regard to the necessary works to get the monument in good structural conditions, you must limit the proposals to those that are absolutely indispensable to impede its future decay, indicating works that provisionally must be executed, where it is the case to not be able to wait without manifest danger, where the time requested is tight to prepare the major restorations. To which you may therefore see when possible, according to the criteria of the ministerial decree of July 21, 1882, the circular with which that decree was transmitted, and according to any other subsequent relative norms.

In the reports, you shall also make two appraisals: an estimate of the necessary sum to get the building in good structural condition, and one to maintain it. You shall also indicate the cost, to be divided between the government and the owners, for works of common interest; to be incurred solely by the owners that which serves to maintain the buildings for the use to which they were created; and to be sustained solely by the Ministry those that regard exclusively the interests of art.

Whenever the delegates shall find poorly organized or directed works in progress, they shall refer them to the Ministry, with recommendations for how the works could be better run.

To the end that you be aided in your work, the Ministry shall see that the various local authorities offer you the best assistance. Therefore we shall also write to the prefectures, in order that they send to the representatives of the provinces, communes, and the churches, as well as private individuals in possession of monuments, that they give the delegates whatever they need to carry out their work.

The directorates of the museums and archives, the academies of fine arts and schools of engineers will be likewise invited, so that every institution do its part to offer the desired assistance, placing the necessary books, documents, and drawings they possess at the disposition of the delegates, whose examination can be useful to the desired project.

When it happens that the delegates believe a book to be necessary to complement the list of monuments that will be furnished by the prefectures, together with the reports, inventories, photographs, drawings, etc. made when the lists were compiled, which they cannot get from local public institutions, the prefectures shall be granted authorization to acquire it, as may be done for the execution of photographs that cannot be purchased.

Which works and photographs must then, with the work completed, be transmitted to the Ministry, to complete the documentary apparatus conserved at the Directorate General of Antiquities and Fine Arts.

I have complete faith that the S. V., in acquiring new merit for the country, through their industrious and enlightened work, shall greatly facilitate one of the most difficult tasks that this Ministry has assigned.

**3859 (p. 219) Regio Decreto approving the regulation concerning works to be done in budget for the restorations to national monuments and the excavations of antiquity, April 22, 1886  
Umberto I Re d'Italia**

Considering that it is necessary to foresee without delay to a provisional regulation of the service for the restoration of national monuments and the excavations of antiquity, before we are able to enact a wider reform of the service by law;

Seeing article 16 of the law of February 17, 1884, n. 2016 (3<sup>rd</sup> series) for the administration of heritage and for the general accounting of the state, and with articles 126 and 674 of the relative rule, approved with our decree of May 4, 1885, n. 3074 (3<sup>rd</sup> series);

Having heard the State Council;

On the proposal of the Minister Secretary of State of Public Instruction, in accord with the interim minister of finance of the treasury;

We have decreed and decree:

**One Article**

The rule regarding the works to be done in budget for the restorations of national monuments and excavations of antiquity is approved, attached to the present decree and signed by our order by the ministries of Public Instruction and the interim minister of finances of the treasury.

Dated at Rome, April 22, 1886. Umberto

Coppino

A. Magliani

**Rule**

**regarding the works to be done through private contracts or in-house for the restorations of national monuments and for the excavations of antiquity**

Art. 1. The restorations to national monuments and to the excavations of antiquity can be carried out by private contract or in-house (*in economia*) [under the direct management of the regional authority], each case decided accordingly and ministerial decree shall approve them, forgoing the formalities of public or private auctions.

Projects cannot be initiated if not on the basis of an official project plan, indicating the necessary expense to carry them out and approved by the ministry with a decree that will lay out the chapter of the balance to which the cost is due and will be registered at the Court of Accounts.

Art. 2. For works that the ministry will approve to be completed by private contract, the norms established in the rule for the administration of heritage and for the general accounting of the state will be followed, approved with the R. D. of May 4, 1885, n. 3074 (3<sup>rd</sup> series), and those established with the law of March 20, 1865 (attachment F) on public works.

Works in the budget may be done;

a) in-house;

b) by a third party;

c) both, that is some parts of a project in-house and others by a third party.

The technical norms for such works will be prescribed by the ministry with special instructions.

Art. 4. (sic) For works in-house, they will be chosen among the regional technical offices, which in article 9 are subject to ministerial authorization, the employees most adept to the execution of those works, acquisition of the materials and means for the project, and whatever else necessary, fixing the daily wages of the workers and the compensation for transportation, as well as other resources, at the best prices possible to establish.

Art. 5. For works entrusted to a contractor, they will be to people of noted suitability and trust of the administration, under the surveillance of the ufficio making the proposal, with such persons accords will be established, by contracts (whenever that is the case), for the execution of a given work at a set price, or in technical terms *fixed-price*, or *time and*

*materials*, whether dealing only with the labor, that is, works for which the administration provides the construction materials, or whether they are works of both labor and materials.

Thus established the prices with the underwriters according to local conditions, and keeping in mind the contracts and current market prices, the private documents will be stipulated (when necessary).

These will contain:

- a) the list of works and administrations;
- b) the inclusive prices for works and for the administrations for time and materials and the cost for those of fixed-price;
- c) the work plan;
- d) the date in which the works will have to be completed;
- e) the method of payment;
- f) the penalties in case of delay, and the deposit reserved by the administration to foresee damage and risk, or to rescind the contract with simple denunciation whatever remains in the contract.

Art. 6. In the cases of urgency in which it is necessary to foresee without any delay, the necessary works can be undertaken also prior to approval of the relative projects, according to articles 337 and following of the cited law of March 20, 1865 on public works.

Art 7. If during the execution of the works, the approved sums are realized to be insufficient, the ufficio entrusted with the work will have to compile and transmit to the ministry a supplementary budget, for approval as well as that of the necessary expense that will be given with ministerial decree according to article 1.

Art. 8. Registration and approval expenses (stamps) and any other necessary for private contracts and for the agreements with a fiduciary, for both original or supplementary work, shall be the responsibility of the underwriters; except the exceptions in article 72 of the cited rule of general accounts.

Art. 9. The compilation of the projects, the direction, accounting and the inspection of the work will be regulated according to the current common rules for works of the State, under the auspices of the technical personnel gathered at regional offices, dependent on the Directorate General of Antiquities & Fine Arts in the Ministry of Public Instruction.

Art. 10. The funds for in-house works shall be dispensed to the regional uffici by the ministry as advances, following article 318 of the regulation for general accounting of the state.

The employee to whom the advance will be paid will be directly responsible for the disbursement of the sum received and shall have to do so according to the norms prescribed by title VII, chapter IV, of the aforementioned regulation.

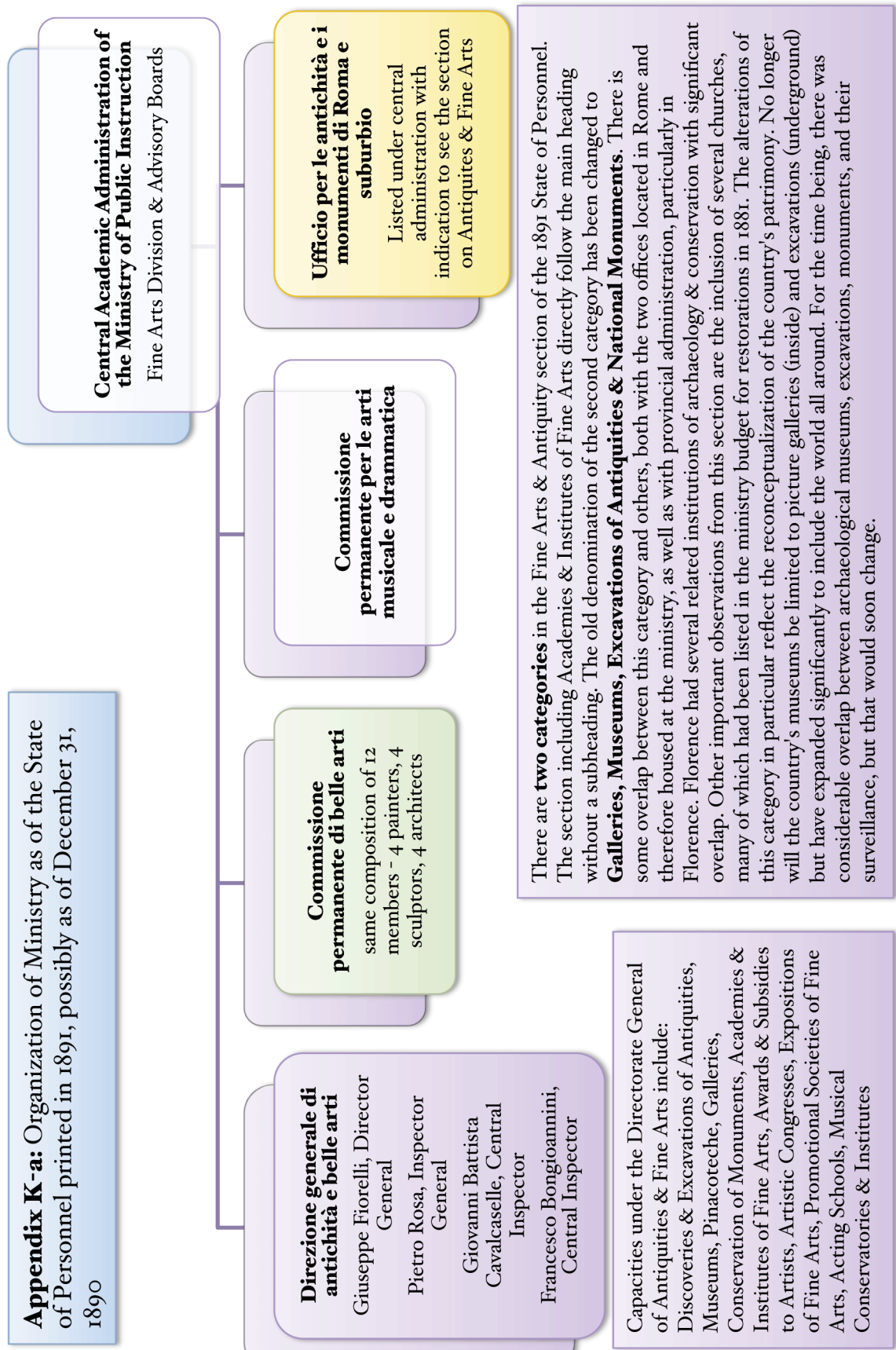
Both the illustrative documentation of the balances of the delegated employees, as well as the budgets and the final accounts of the works given to a fiduciary or private contract, must be sent to the ministry in original and in copy for the use of the administration, with the forms and precautions established in article 312 of the repeated regulation.

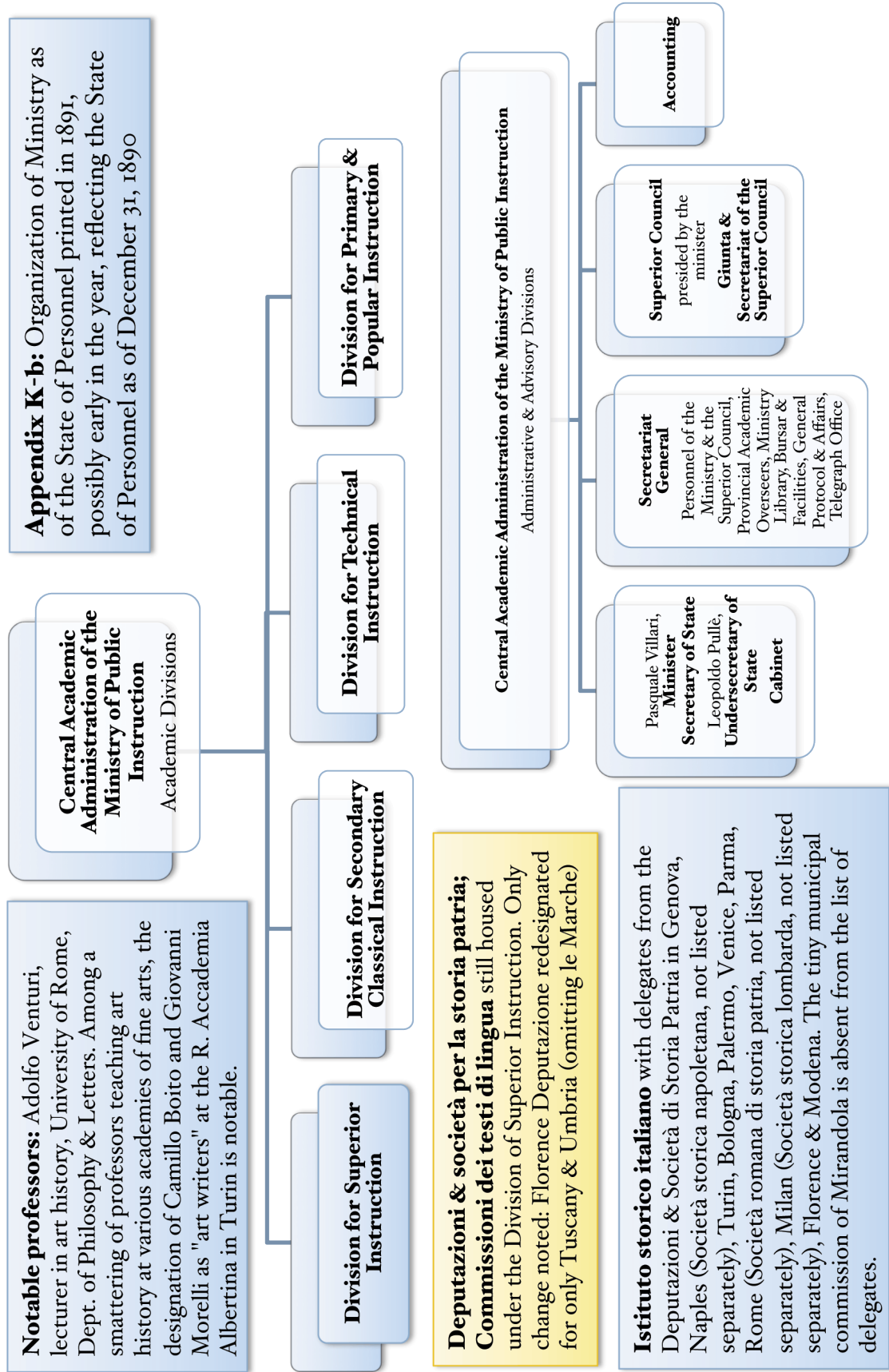
Art. 11. The rules of the R. D. September 3, 1868 and June 8, 1874 regarding in-house works for excavations of Pompeii and for excavations and monuments of the province of Rome are abrogated, in that they can be contrary to the present rule.

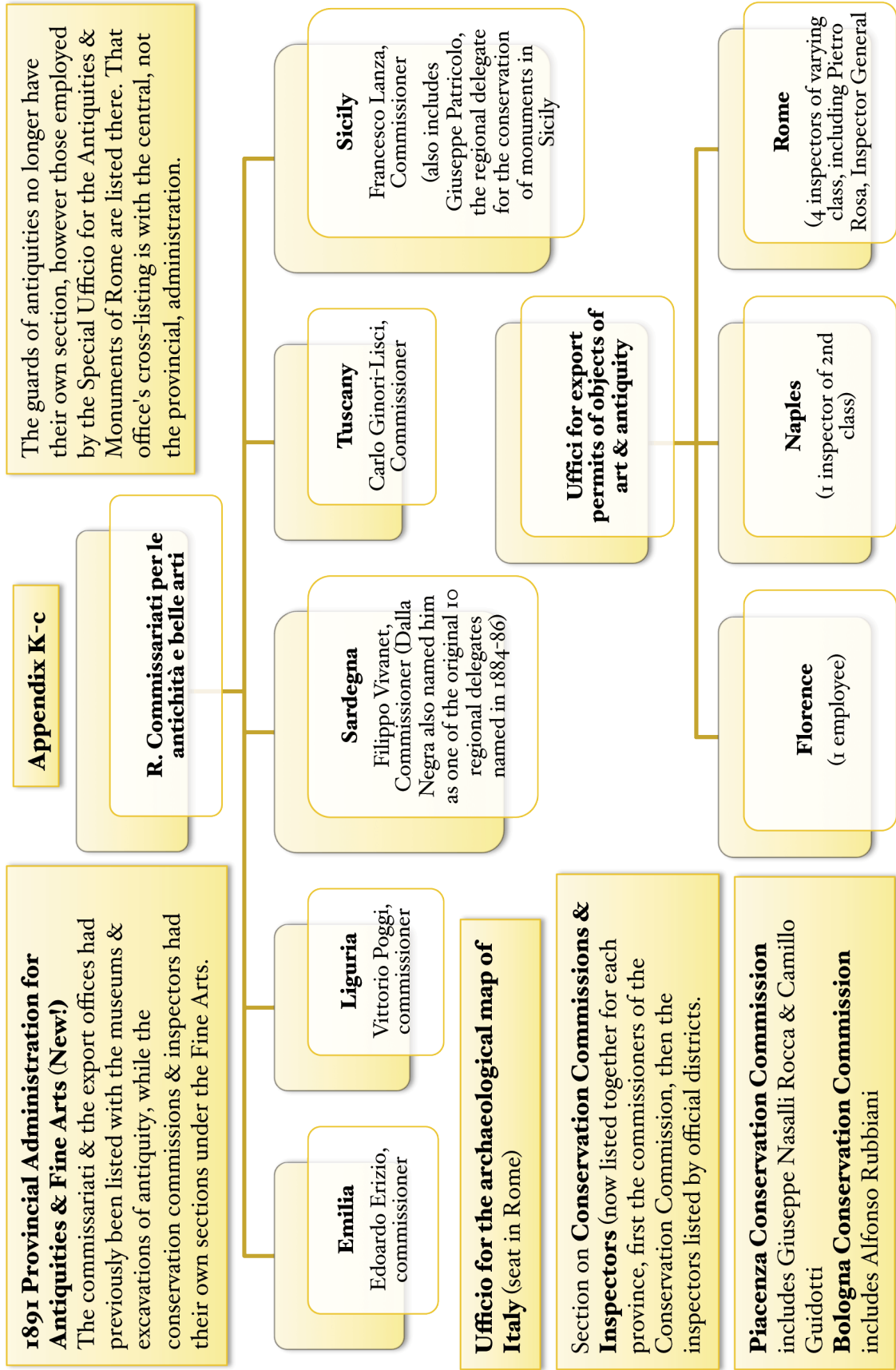
Appendix K  
Institutions of the Ministry of Public Instruction  
1891-1902



**Appendix K-a:** Organization of Ministry as of the State of Personnel printed in 1891, possibly as of December 31, 1890







**Appendix K-d:** Organization of Ministry in **State of Personnel printed in 1891**, possibly early in the year, reflecting the State of Personnel as of December 31, 1890

**Directorate General of Antiquities & Fine Arts  
Section of National Monuments, Galleries &  
Pinacoteche & Museums of Antiquity**

Institutions cross-listed with the central or provincial administration: as though they are holding on to their local identities. It would seem to reflect the fact that for many of them, they grew out of local institutions, reflecting a tension between the locally-driven creation of institutions of preservation and the central push to control those impulses.

Naples also had a special institution, the **Direzione degli scavi e monumenti delle provincie napoletane**. The director of the office, Michele Ruggiero, was also on the conservation commission, where he was indicated as the **r. delegate for the conservation of monuments in the southern provinces**. The resemblance of the nomenclature of Ruggiero's title and the office under discussion suggest that it may represent a transitional regional office resembling the future superintendencies.

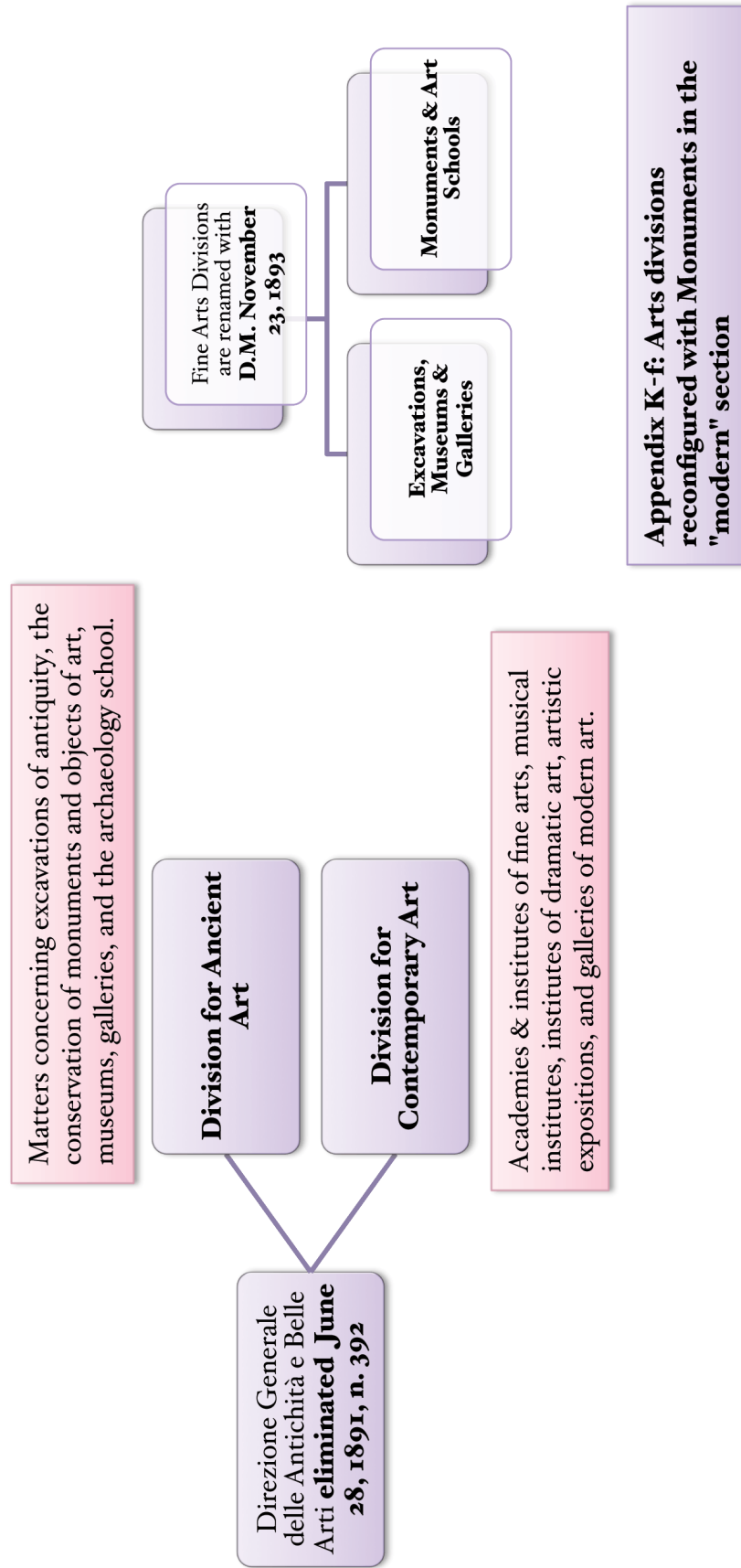
**Florence Commissariato per le antichità e belle arti in Tuscany:** In addition to Ginori-Lisci named in the provincial administration section, under the section for **Galleries, Museums, Excavations of Antiquity & National Monuments**, he is listed as the deputy to the parliamentary commission. Under this iteration of the commissariato, the r. inspector of monuments, Guido Carocci is repeated, and they are joined by 8 other members. Carrocci is repeated again in the institution that follows, **Ispettorato dei monumenti e degli scavi nella provincia**.

Florence also repeats the listing of its export office, and adds two new bodies: the **Ufficio Tecnico** and the **Consiglio Tecnico**. These are all accompanied by 15 museums and individual monuments, and a long list of rotating custodians.

Rome & Naples also repeat their export offices, as does Rome its **Ufficio Speciale** for the antiquities & monuments of Rome & its suburb, introduced with the central administration. 11 employees worked directly under the special office, while 19 more moonlighted from the Directorate General with Adolfo Venturi as Vice Director. A two-page list of guards of antiquities rounded out the Ufficio.

	<b>Appendix K-e</b>	<b>Dalla Negra claims these 10 were named Regional Delegates between 1885-6. There is no section on the 1891 Stato del Personale that lists regional delegates independently of their other functions. Their status in 1891 State of Personnel:</b>
Piedmont & Liguria	<b>Alfredo D'Andrade</b>	Painter & antiquarian on the board of the Royal Albertina Academy of Turin; no information regarding his status as regional delegate; not on the conservation commission in Turin (or on the commissariato of Liguria)
Veneto	<b>Federico Berchet</b>	Engineer-Architect on the conservation commission of Venice; listed as a provincial, not a state commissioner, which seems weird if he were the regional delegate; was the author of the annual relations of the Veneto Ufficio Regionale in 1893, 1894, 1895
Lombardy	<b>Luca Beltrami</b>	Twice referenced as delegate in his lists of titles: where appearing as a consultant of the archaeological museum of Milan (as <b>delegate to the conservation of monuments in Lombardy</b> ) and on the academic council of the Milan Fine Arts Academy ( <b>as the R. Delegate to the conservation of monuments in Lombardy</b> ). He was also on the Conservation Commission of Milan, but his status as regional delegate was not mentioned in that instance.
Emilia	<b>Raffaele Faccioli</b>	Not on the Emilia Commissariato, although he would later be director of the Ufficio in Bologna when he would fight with Corrado Ricci, ultimately leading to the creation of the first Soprintendenza of monuments in Ravenna in 1897; in 1891, he was an instructor of architectonic styles at the Applied School for Engineers in Bologna; drawing instructor at the Liceo Galvani in Bologna; on the administrative council of the Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna, along with Giosuè Carducci, Alfonso Rubbiani, Corrado Ricci & Pasquale Villari; Professor of Architecture at the Bologna Institute of Fine Arts; Nowhere does it refer to him as regional delegate
Tuscany	<b>Luigi del Moro</b>	On the conservation commission of Florence, but listed as a communal commissioner; Listed on the commissariato for Tuscany, where he was director of the Technical Office, but where it is listed under the section for Fine Arts, not Provincial Administration
Umbria & le Marche	<b>Giuseppe Sacconi</b>	Professor of architecture at the Rome Institute Fine Arts; On the Permanent Commission of Fine Arts at the Ministry of Public Instruction
Lazio	<b>Francesco Bongioanni</b>	Central Inspector of the Directorate General of Antiquity & Fine Arts
Southern Provinces	<b>Michele Ruggiero</b>	Director of the special office, <b>Direction of the excavations and monuments of the Neapolitan provinces</b> ; On the conservation commission, where he is <b>listed as the r. delegate for the conservation of monuments in the southern provinces</b> , and as a state commissioner; Honorary associate of the Royal Society of Naples, Class of Archaeology, Literature & Fine Arts
Sicily	<b>Giuseppe</b>	On the R. Commissariato, <b>listed there as a regional</b>

	<b>Patricolo</b>	<b>delegate for the conservation of the monuments of Sicily</b> ; Listed as a state commissioner on the conservation commission of Palermo; Professor of descriptive & projective geometry with drawing, University of Palermo Department of Physical, Math & Natural Sciences (on leave)
Sardegna	<b>Filippo Vivanet</b>	Professor of descriptive & projective geometry with drawing, Department of Physical, Math & Natural Sciences, University of Cagliari; Non-local member of the Turin Deputazione per la storia patria; On the conservation commission of Cagliari, where he is listed as the regio commissario of museums & excavations of antiquity in Sardegna; Also commissario of the r. commissariato of Sardegna





**June 28, 1891, n. 392-** Giunta of archaeology is created alongside the **Permanent Commission of Fine Arts.**

**R. D. January 5, 1893, n. 45** created **Special Office for the Compilation of the Catalog of Monuments**

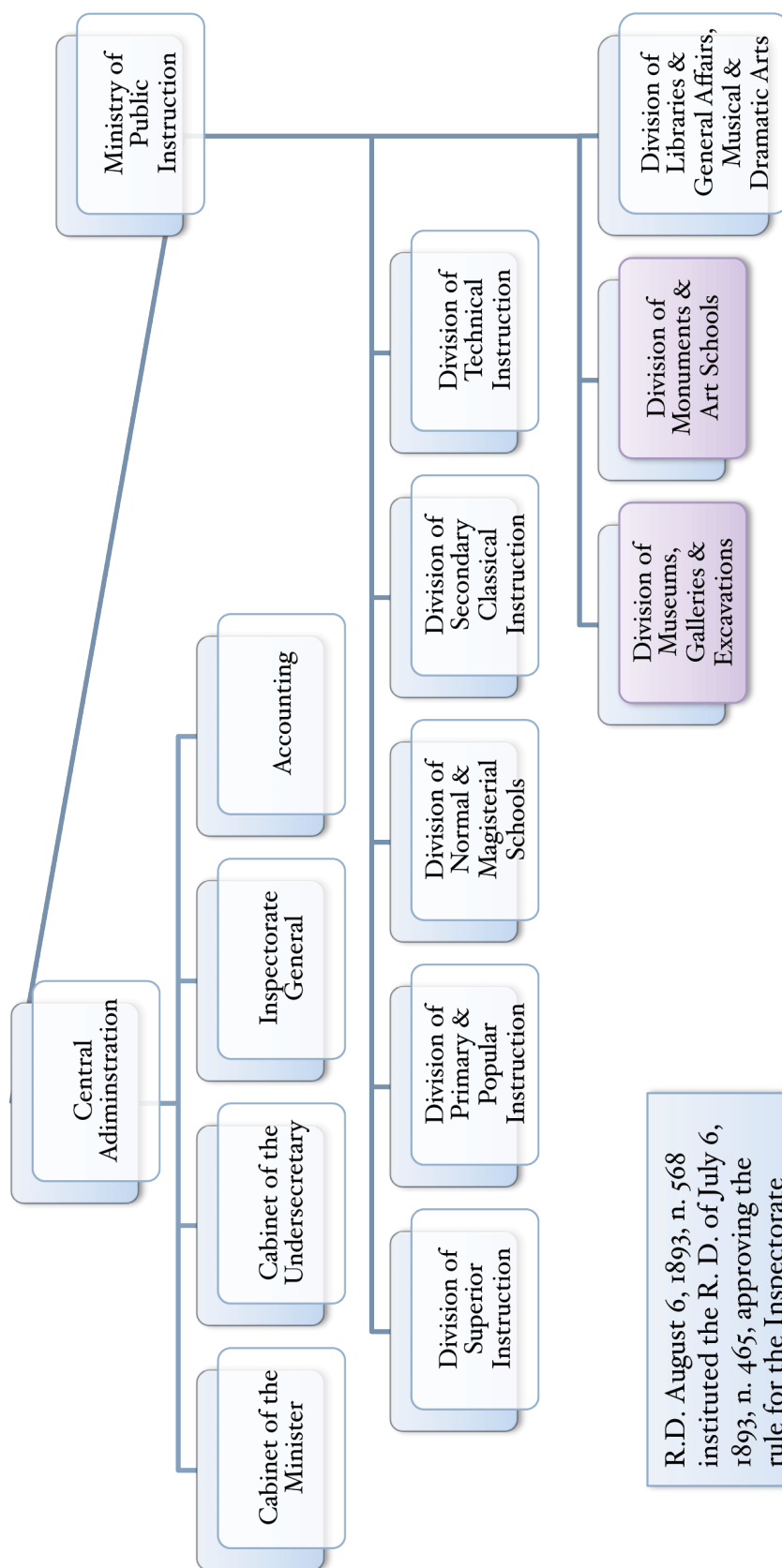
**R. D. March 16, 1893, n. 156** created the **Giunta di Belle Arti**, replacing the **Giunta Consultiva of Archaeology** and the **Permanent Commission of Fine Arts**

**R. D. April 12, 1894, n. 140** created **Giunta Superiore di Belle Arti**, replacing the Giunta di Belle Arti

**R. D. April 27, 1894, n. 173** created **Giunta Superiore for History & Archaeology**

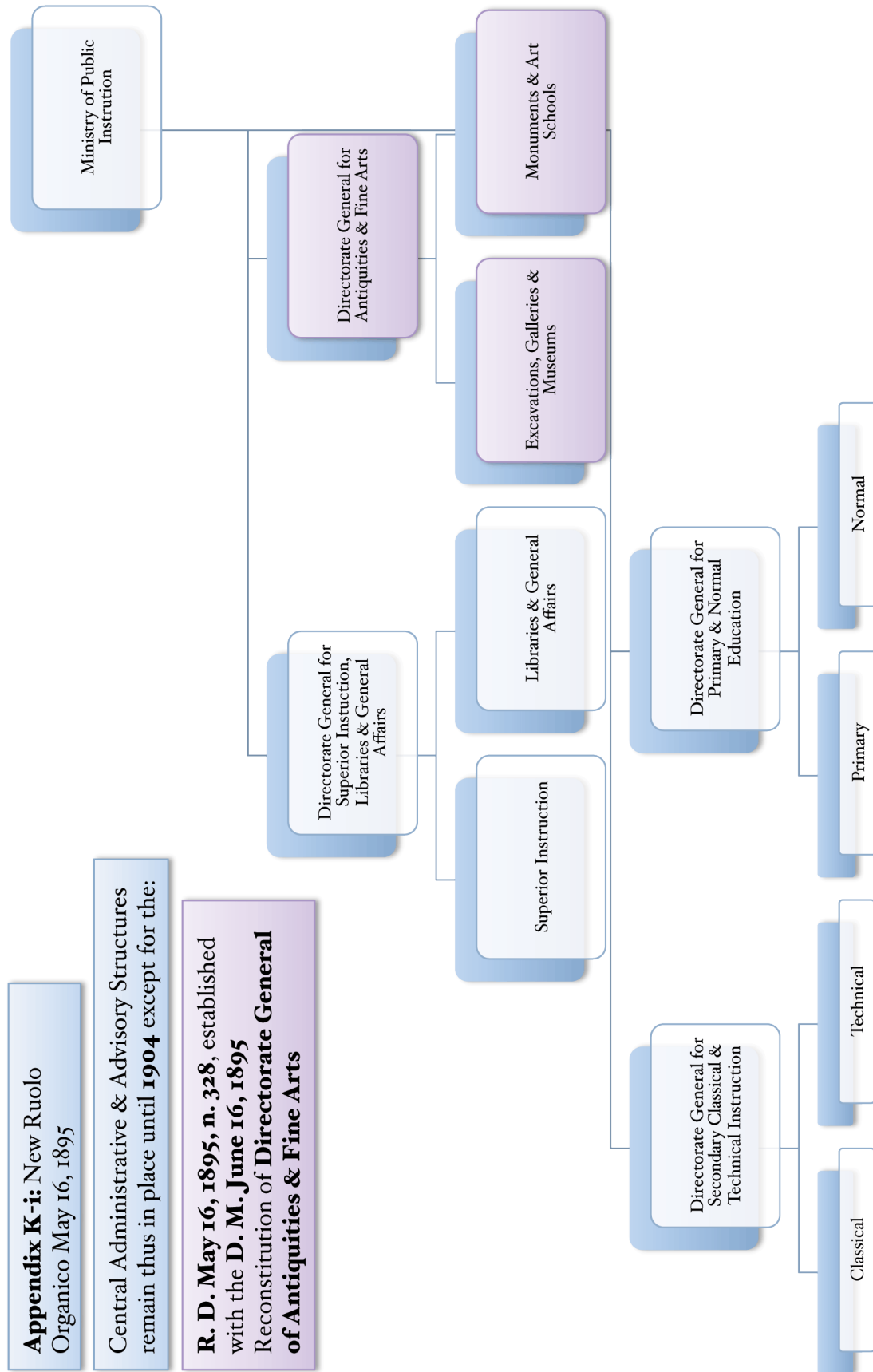
**Appendix K-g: Shifting of Central Arts Advisory Boards, 1891-94**

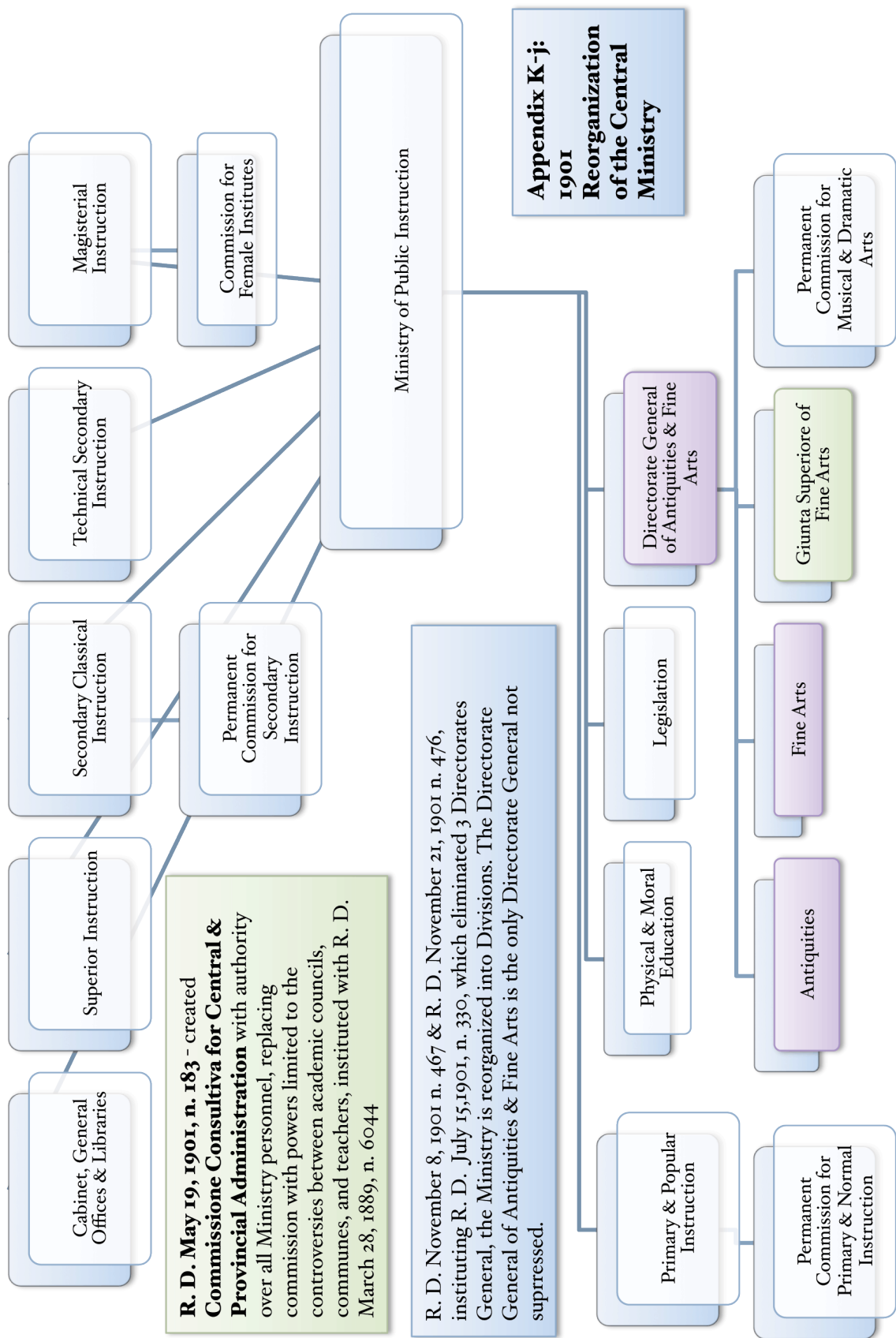




R.D. August 6, 1893, n. 568 instituted the R. D. of July 6, 1893, n. 465, approving the rule for the Inspectorate General of Public Instruction. This is the new organization that followed.

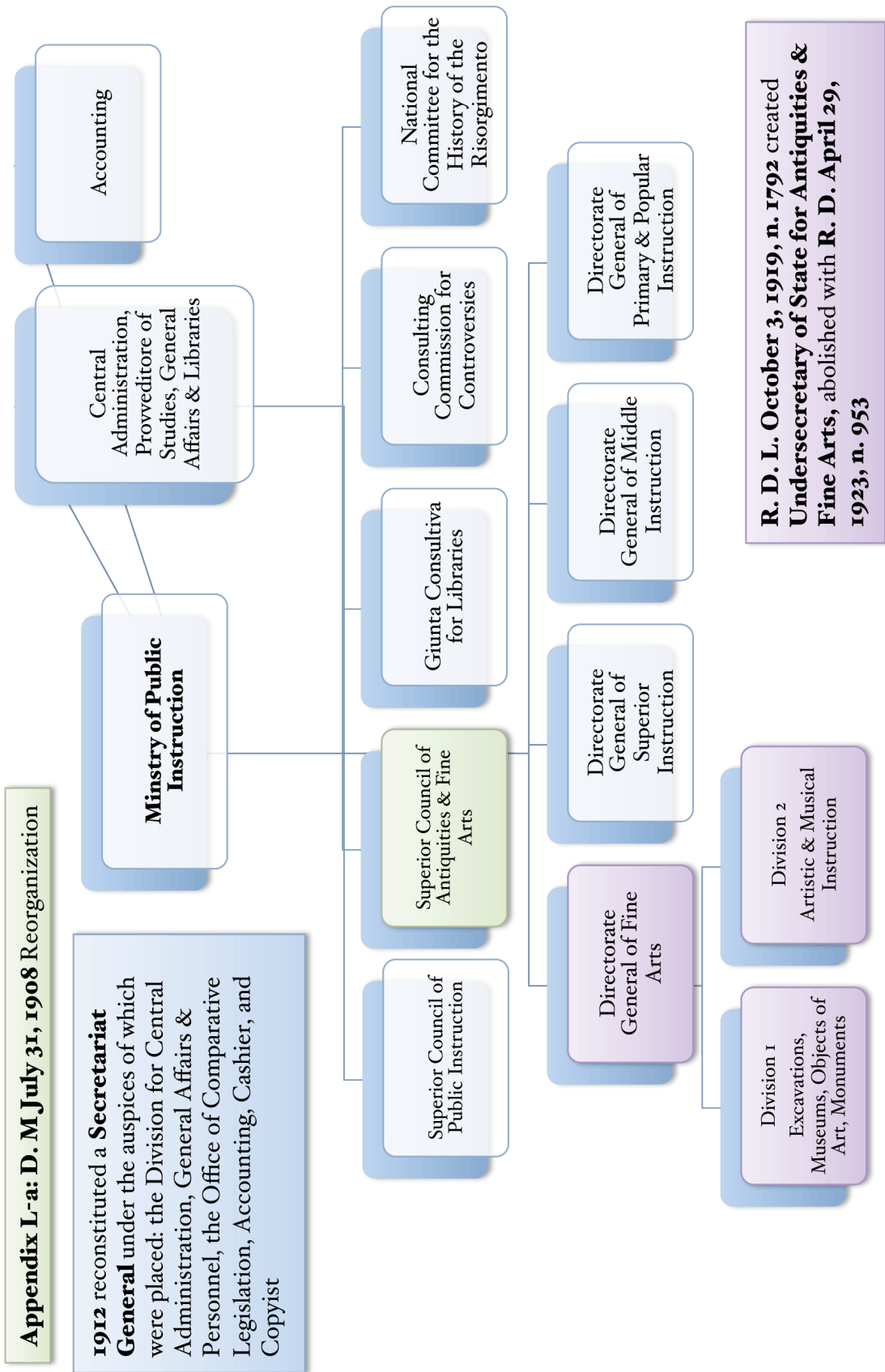
## Appendix K-h: Reorganization of the Central Ministry in 1893





Appendix L

Institutions of the Ministry of Public Instruction &  
Restoration Records at San Francesco, 1908-1924



<b>Appendix L-b: Summary of Construction Costs under Guidotti, 1919-24</b>				
Date	Recipient	Payment in lire	Work Completed	Time Frame
<b>Painting &amp; Whitewashing</b>				
7/6/1919	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£193.00	uncovering, cleaning, retouching pre-existing polychrome decoration underneath recent paint	
12/24/1919	Antonio Telmoni (whitewashing firm)	£230.00	provision of brushes and paints to Ghittoni's firm	
12/24/1919	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£1,802.50	Payment for works described above	
3/10/1920	Antonio Telmoni (whitewashing firm)	£195.00	Paint materials for the painter A. Ghittoni	
3/27/1920	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£1,110.00	restoration of ambulatory decorations	
5-9/1920	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£1,175.00	restorations to decorative painting in sanctuary & transept	May-September, 1920
10-11/1920	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£1,370.00	restorations to decorative painting in sanctuary & transept	
1/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£400.00	continuing restorations in the sanctuary & transept	
1/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£850.00	Payment for restorations of the sanctuary and transept	
4/19/1921	Professor Milani	£115.00	photographs of the ambulatory paintings	
4/19-23/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£280.00	Installment for works of painting and decoration in the body of the church	
4/30/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£700.00	additional installments	
5/18-22/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£270.00	additional installments	
5/29/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£250.00	additional installments	

6/1-4,8/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£320.00	additional installments	
6/11,16,18.25/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£880.00	continuation of works as above (combined entry for four dates, totaling Lit 880.00)	
7/23,30/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£280.00		
8/6,13/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£500.00	restorations in the nave	
8/20,23,27/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£450.00	restorations in the nave	
9/1-2/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£350.00	restorations in the nave	
9/19/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£700.00	restorations in the nave	
10/1/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£300.00	Remainder owed to him	
2/23/1922	Giovanni Genocchi (painter)	£275.00	rosettes on the vault keystones	
3/26/1923	Giovanni Genocchi (painter)	£465.00	painting work	1922
<b>1919-1923</b>	<b>Various firms</b>	<b>£13,460.50</b>	<b>Total Painting Expenses</b>	<b>1919-1923</b>
<b>Payments to Construction Firm, Marble &amp; Brick Firms 1919-20</b>				
3/7/1920	Augusto Bisotti (construction firm)	£4,150.00	payment for wall works completed in the past year	1919
3/20/1920	State Rail	£5.15	Transportation of decorative bricks from Piacenza to Imola	
4/13/1920	Laborers	£3.00	Tip for transportation of a <i>trifora</i>	
4/13/1920	Gallotti (bricks)	£76.00	amount for decorative bricks	
9/12/1920	Nassi & Spelta (marble workers)	£1,145.00	payment for the new niche in ashlar over the entrance to the sacristy	
9/18/1920	Manual laborers	£13.00	taking down the scaffolding; tip in money and wine	
9/25/1920	Augusto Bisotti (construction)	£1,085.00	Reimbursement for payments he made for rail transport from	

	firm)		Sassuolo to Piacenza of the aforementioned scaffold	
12/14/1920	Galotti (brickmakers)		delivery of brick samples	
1/1921	Augusto Bisotti	£1,098.00	Reimbursement for transportation of specially made bricks from Bologna to Piacenza	
2/3/1921	Galotti (brickmakers)		delivered a wagon containing twenty tons of bricks: 870 for round piers (piloni tondi), 994 for inside/central piers (piloni mediani), 500 for octagonal piers (pilastri ottagonali), and 2,488 for “semicircular walls” (pareti semi- circolari)	
2/1921	Augusto Bisotti (construction firm)	£10,600.00	Payment of wall works	work complete d in 1920
6/1921	Various	£1.40	Tips and minor expenses	
1/23/1922	Augusto Bisotti	£5,000.00	construction labor on the church interior	January- December 1921
3/1922	Gallotti (bricks)	£5,000.00	specially made bricks for piers	
4/19/1922	Augusto Bisotti	£2,000.00		1921 labor
6/15/1922	Augusto Bisotti	£4,500.00	ongoing wall work	
6/15/1922	Gallotti firm of Bologna (bricks)	£5,000.00	Payment for special bricks for the columns	
9/8/1922	Augusto Bisotti	£3,000.00	works of reinforcement	1921
11/18/1922	Augusto Bisotti	£2,000.00	ongoing wall work	First installme nt for 1922 labor
12/23/1922	Oste Boschi	£8.00	Flask of wine to the men who dismantled the scaffolding	
3/3/1923	Augusto Bisotti	£2,000.00	wall work	1922 labor
4/28/1923	Augusto Bisotti	£1,000.00		1922 labor
6/9/1923	Augusto Bisotti	£1,000.00	installment	1922 labor
9/19/1923	Augusto Bisotti	£700.00	installment	1922 labor
10/9/1923	Augusto Bisotti	£1,500.00	installment	1922 labor
11/17/1923	Augusto Bisotti	£1,000.00	installment	1922 labor



12/5/1923	Gallotti (bricks)	£1,500.00	installment for bricks	
12/24/1923	Augusto Bisotti	£1,200.00	installment	1922 labor
1/6/1924	Augusto Bisotti	£1,650.00	additional installment	1922 labor
<b>1920- 1924</b>	<b>Various firms</b>	<b>£56,234.55</b>	<b>Total construction expenses</b>	<b>1919- 1922</b>
<b>Window Expenses</b>				
3/7/1920	Courier from Bologna	£5.00	Transportation of a package containing the sketch of a window sent to the superintendent	
1/1921	Railroad	£94.00	Transportation of the iron frames for stained-glass windows being made by F. Quentin of Florence	
8/18/1921	To the railway & the commune	£226.00	Transportation & tax on stained glass	
8/6/1921	Bongiorni metalworks	£300.00	Various ironworks	
9/6/1921	To the railway & the commune	£69.00	Transportation of additional windows and taxes	
9/13- 15/1921	Giuseppe Bongiorni (metalworker)	£500.00	Installment for the ironworks	
9/26/1921	Felice Quentin firm of Florence	£15,000.00	First installment for 6 stained glass windows and 6 roundels (5 for the choir, 1 transept, 6 roundels for the oculi)	
9/27/1921	Torquato Verani (carpenter)	£1,000.00	Installment for the wooden frames of the windows, transenne, and roundels	
10/8- 15/1921	Giuseppe Bongiorni (metalworker)	£150.00	Additional installment for the ironworks	
1/21/1922	Giuseppe Rossi (glassblower)	£1,000.00	Craft & installation of the small Murano roundels for the nave	
2/20/1922	Felice Quentin firm of Florence	£9,000.00	2nd installment for stained glass	
2/23/1922	Fratelli Bongiorni (metalworkers) Ferrari	£550.00	Various payments	1921
2/23/1922	Torquato Verani (carpenter)	£760.00	Screens for round windows in the nave	
3/13/1922	Giuseppe Rossi	£485.00	Craft & installation of the small	

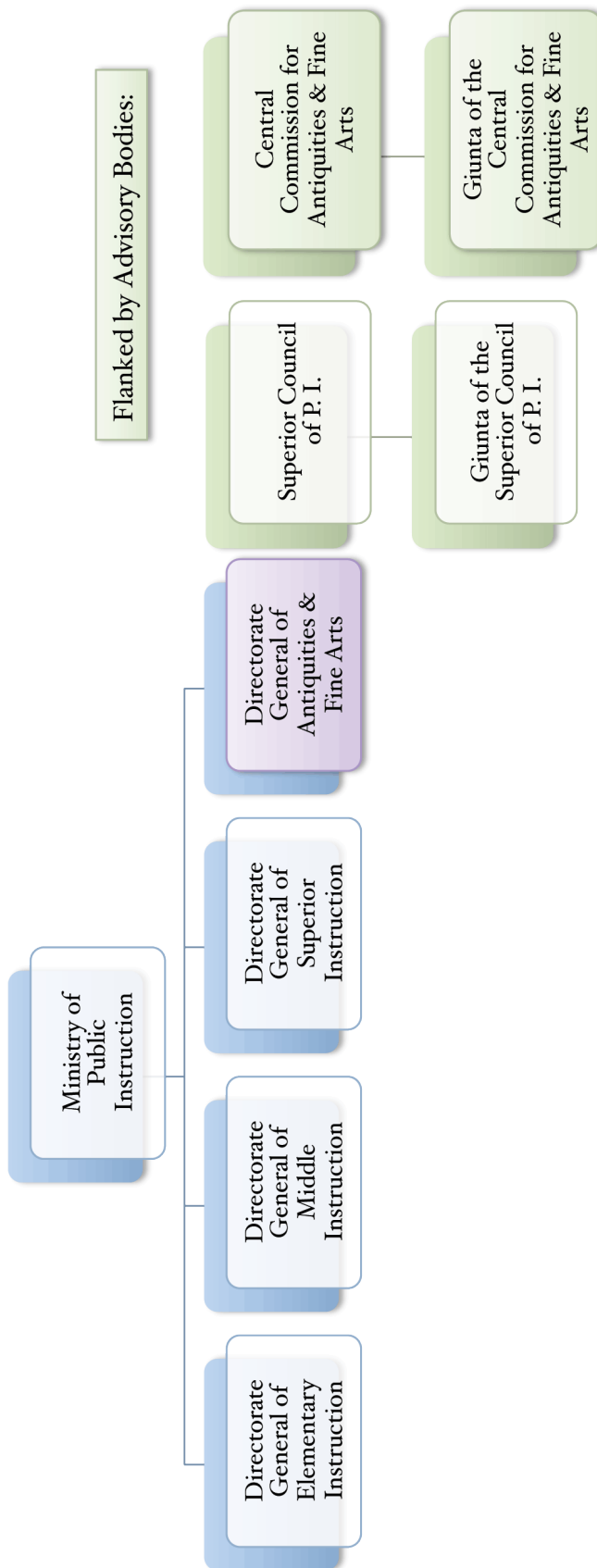
	(glassblower)		Murano roundels for the nave	
7/13/1922	Piacenza firm of Campremoldo	£2,500.00	first installment for the wooden shutters/screens for the windows in the crossing	
7/13/1922	Commune of Piacenza	£20.00	entry tax on the Venetian windows	
9/9/1922	Piacenza firm of Campremoldo	£1,000.00	2nd installment	
10/18/1922	Piacenza firm of Campremoldo	£1,500.00	3rd installment	
11/8/1922	Giuseppe Bongiorno (metalworker)	£100.00	Ironworks	
12/12/1922	Gaetano Piacenza firm of Campremoldo	£500.00	4th installment	
12/23/1922	Gaetano Piacenza firm of Campremoldo	£1,000.00	5th installment	
2/7/1923	Giuseppe Bongiorno (metalworker)	£500.00	Ironworks	
2/22/1923	Giuseppe Rossi (glassblower)	£1,200.00	roundels	1922
2/22/1923	Felice Quentin firm of Florence	£4,000.00	installment for windows in the sanctuary	
4/7/1923	Piacenza firm of Campremoldo	£400.00	wooden shutters for the nave	
6/30/1923	Fratelli Piacenza (carpenters)	£150.00	Installment for wooden shutters	
7/7/1923	Giuseppe Bongiorno (metalworker)	£1,000.00	Payment of bill	
10/9/1923	Railroad delivery company	£232.00	Paid for the windows of the ambulatory	
12/24/1923	Felice Quentin firm of Florence	£6,000.00	Installment for the ambulatory windows	
<b>1920-1923</b>	<b>Various firms</b>	<b>£49,241.00</b>	<b>Total window expenses</b>	<b>1920-1924</b>
<b>Chapel of San Francesco</b>				
1/1921	Arnolfo Ghittoni (Painter)	£130.00	restorations to the Chapel of San Francesco	
2/1921	Bongiorno ironworkers	£1,173.00	Provision of two large iron lattices for the windows of the	

			Chapel of San Francesco	
5/31/1921	Firm of Bassi and Spelta, marbleworks	£1,850.00	new marble and ashlar altar for the Chapel of San Francesco	
<b>1921</b>	<b>Various firms</b>	<b>£3,153.00</b>	<b>Total expenses, Chapel of San Francesco</b>	
<b>Lateral Façade Doors</b>				
6/30/1923	Torquato Verani (carpenter)	£1,000.00	Additional installment for small façade doors	
1/6/1924	Torquato Verani (carpenter)	£100.00	Payment for materials	1923
<b>1923-1924</b>	<b>Torquato Verani (carpenter)</b>	<b>£1,100.00</b>	<b>Total expenses, lateral façade doors</b>	<b>1923</b>
<b>New Altar</b>				
1/6/1924	Carlo Strinati (sculptor)	£1,700.00	Payment for the stone altar with 6 colonnettes	
<b>Miscellaneous Costs</b>				
7/7/1923	Reimbursement to the treasurer of the Opera Parrocchiale	£24.00	For stamps paid for the withdrawal of the government subsidy	
8/21/1923	Post Office	£2.00	registered mail to the Minister of Accounts	
<b>1923</b>	<b>Various</b>	<b>£26.00</b>	<b>Total Misc</b>	
<b>Payments made to Guidotti, Director of the Project</b>				
2/1921	Guidotti	£500.00	first installment for the assembly of the restoration plans and direction of the work	
6/15/1922	Guidotti	£1,000.00	second installment	
<b>1921-1922</b>	<b>Guidotti</b>	<b>£1,500.00</b>	<b>Guidotti's Fees</b>	
	<b>Category Totals</b>			
	<b>Painting</b>	<b>£13,460.50</b>		
	<b>Construction</b>	<b>£56,234.55</b>		
	<b>Windows</b>	<b>£49,241.00</b>		
	<b>Chapel of San Francesco</b>	<b>£3,153.00</b>		
	<b>Lateral Façade Doors</b>	<b>£1,100.00</b>		

	<b>New Altar</b>	<b>£1,700.00</b>		
	<b>Miscellaneous</b>	<b>£26.00</b>		
	<b>Guidotti</b>	<b>£1,500.00</b>		
	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>£126,415. 05</b>		

Appendix M  
Cultural Institutions during the Era of Fascism  
1923-45

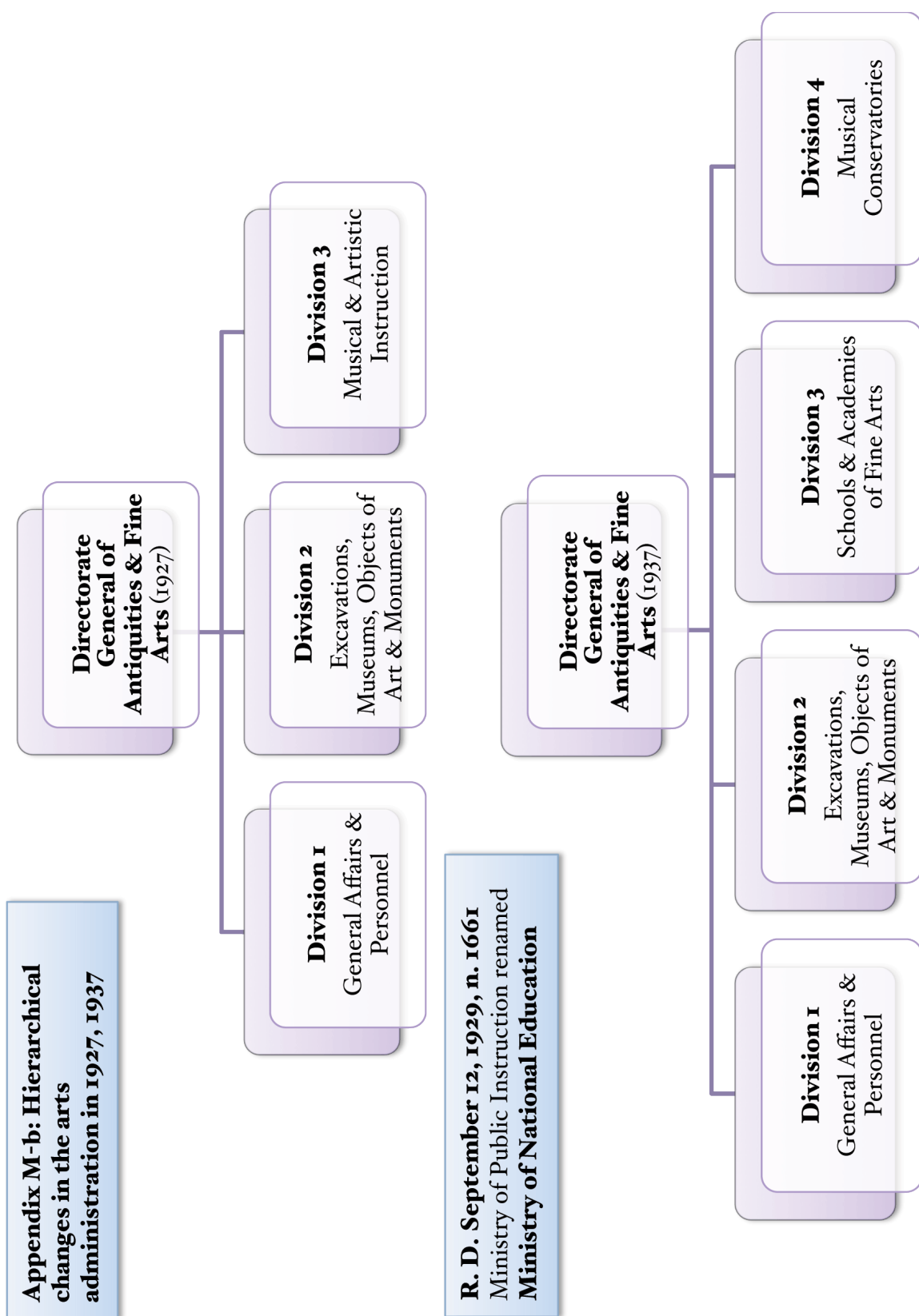
**R. D. July 16, 1923, n. 1753** New Organization approved

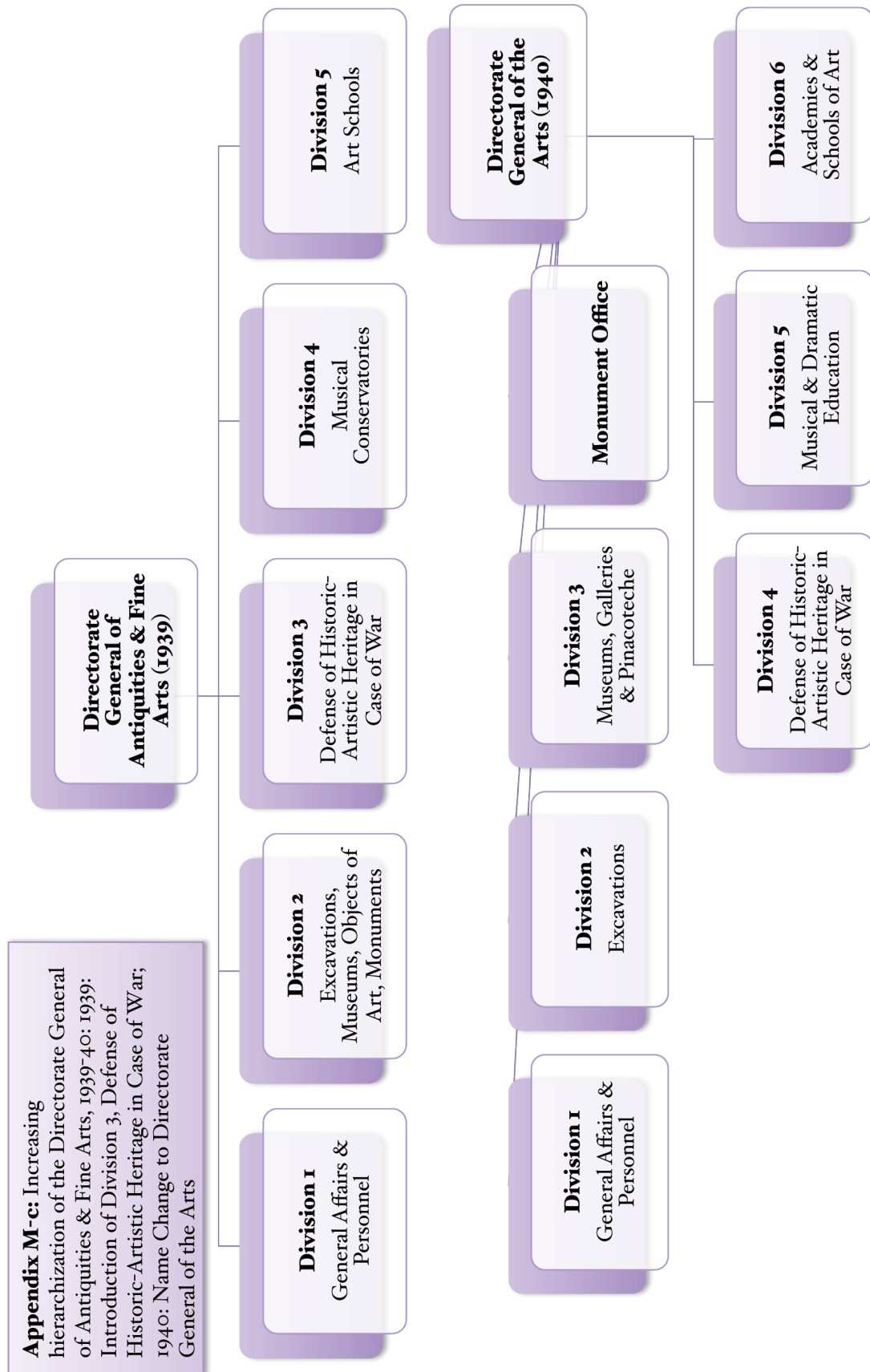


Subsequently, **Directorate General of General Affairs & Personnel** created, which in **1926** becomes the **Central Office of Personnel**

**R. D. June 7, 1926, n. 944** created **Directorate General of Academies & Libraries**

**Appendix M-a: Central administration of the Ministry of Public Instruction, 1923-26**







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## Biography

Aurelia D'Antonio graduated from the University of California at Santa Barbara in 2002 with a Bachelor of Arts degree from the Department of the History of Art and Architecture. She is a fellow of the American Academy in Rome (FAAR '10), where she spent the 2009-10 academic year researching and writing this dissertation. She has given talks at Duke, the American Academy in Rome, Fordham University, and the International Medieval Congress at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

## Figures





Figure 1. San Francesco, Piacenza





Figure 2. West Façade, Portal





Figure 3. San Francesco, Piacenza, North Side





Figure 4. San Francesco, Piacenza, Interior





Figure 5. Chapel Dedicated to Sant'Antonio, Bay AB23





Figure 6. San Francesco, Interior, North Aisle





Figure 7. Chapel of the Immacolata (Immaculate Conception, also known as the Capella del Malosso)





Figure 8. Chapels in Bay DE34





**Figure 9. San Francesco, Vaults**





Figure 10. Upper Story at D12





Figure 11. San Francesco, North Transept





**Figure 12. North Transept with Octagonal Piers**





Figure 13. Hemicycle, East End





**Figure 14. North Ambulatory Aisle**





**Figure 15. West Façade of San Francesco Occluded by Tower, To the Right One of Two 1930s Fascist Buildings**





Figure 16. Two 1930s Fascist Buildings with Tower





Figure 17. Early Twentieth-Century Building with Thirteenth-Century Palazzo Gotico on the Right





Figure 18. Palazzo Gotico, Begun 1281





Figure 19. Medievalizing Restoration of Portico to the West of the Palazzo Gotico, Early Twentieth Century





Figure 20. Western Edge of the Piazza Cavalli





Figure 21. Northern Boundary of the Piazza Cavalli





Figure 22. Nineteenth-Century Palace, Piazza Cavalli





Figure 23. Entrance to Via Cavour, North Side of Piazza Cavalli





Figure 24. Entrance to Via XX Settembre, East Side of Piazza Cavalli, Pinnacles of San Francesco Visible



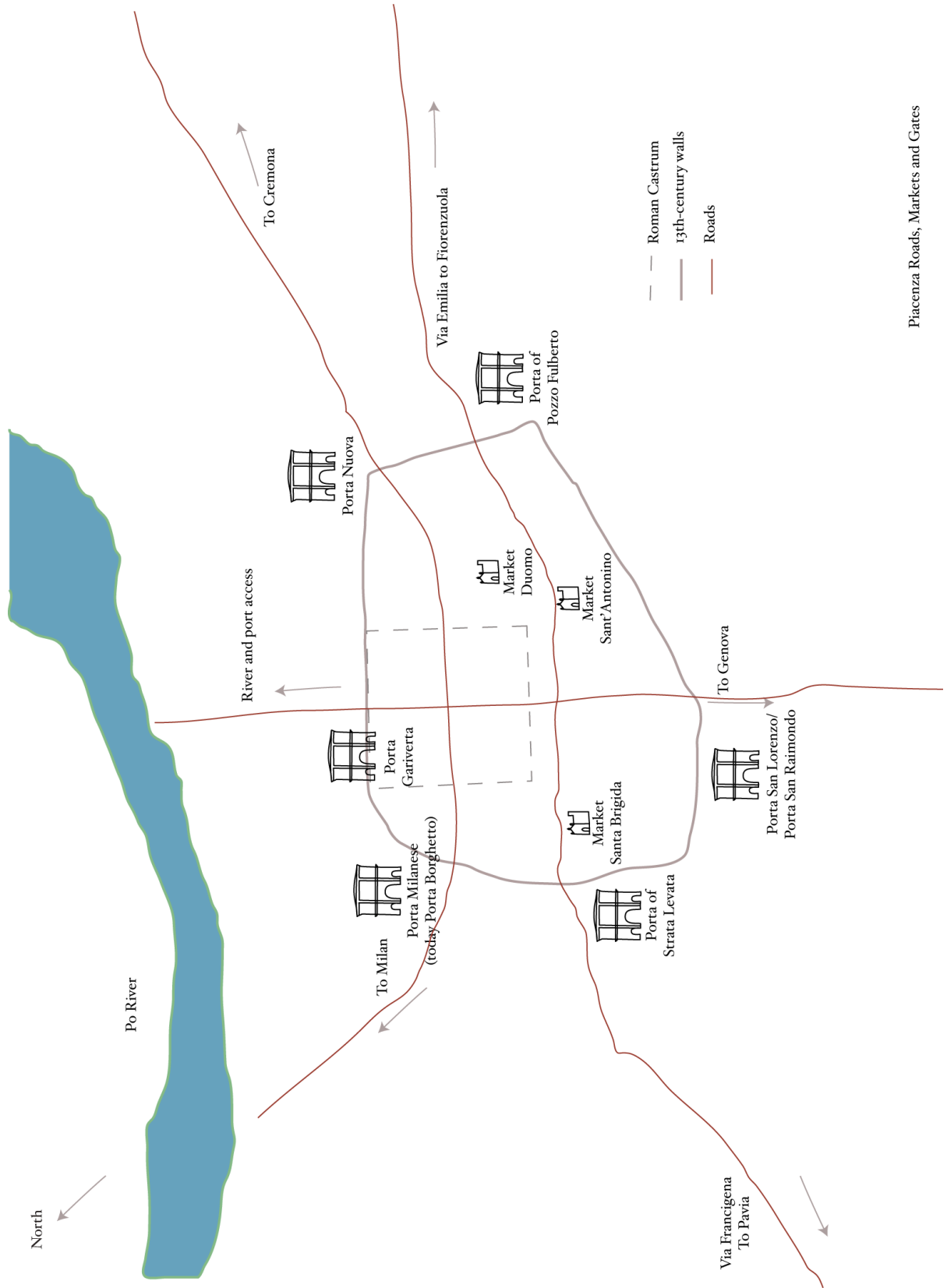


Figure 25.

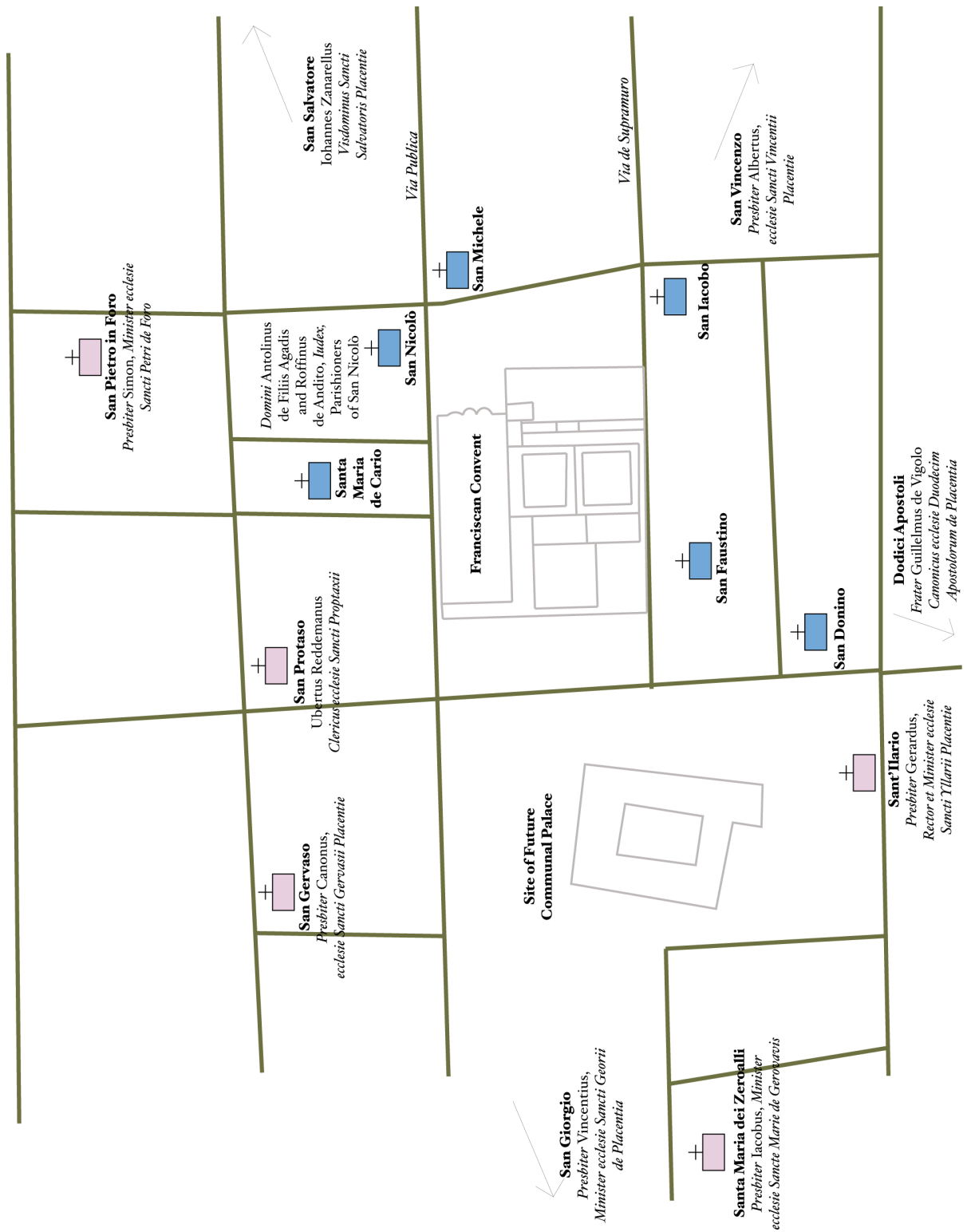


Figure 26.



Figure 27.

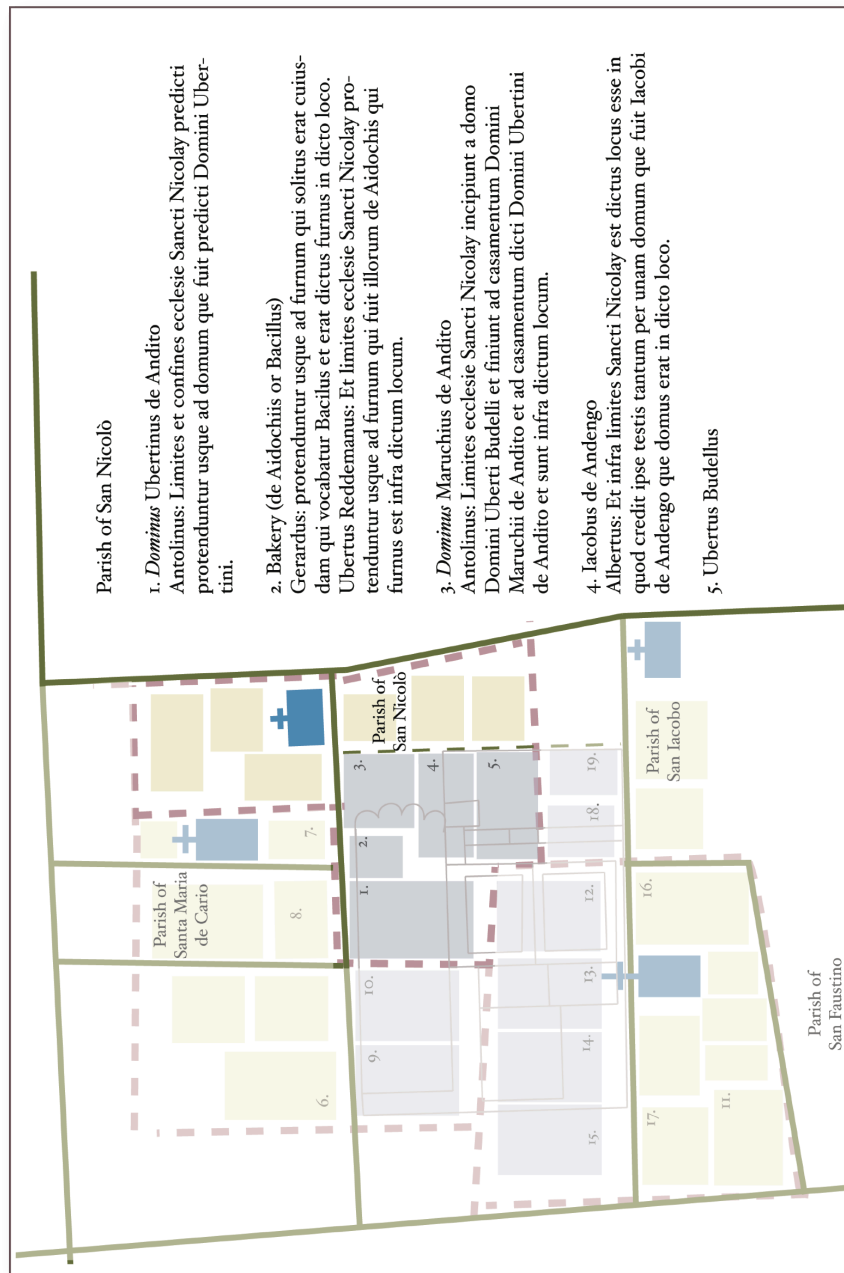


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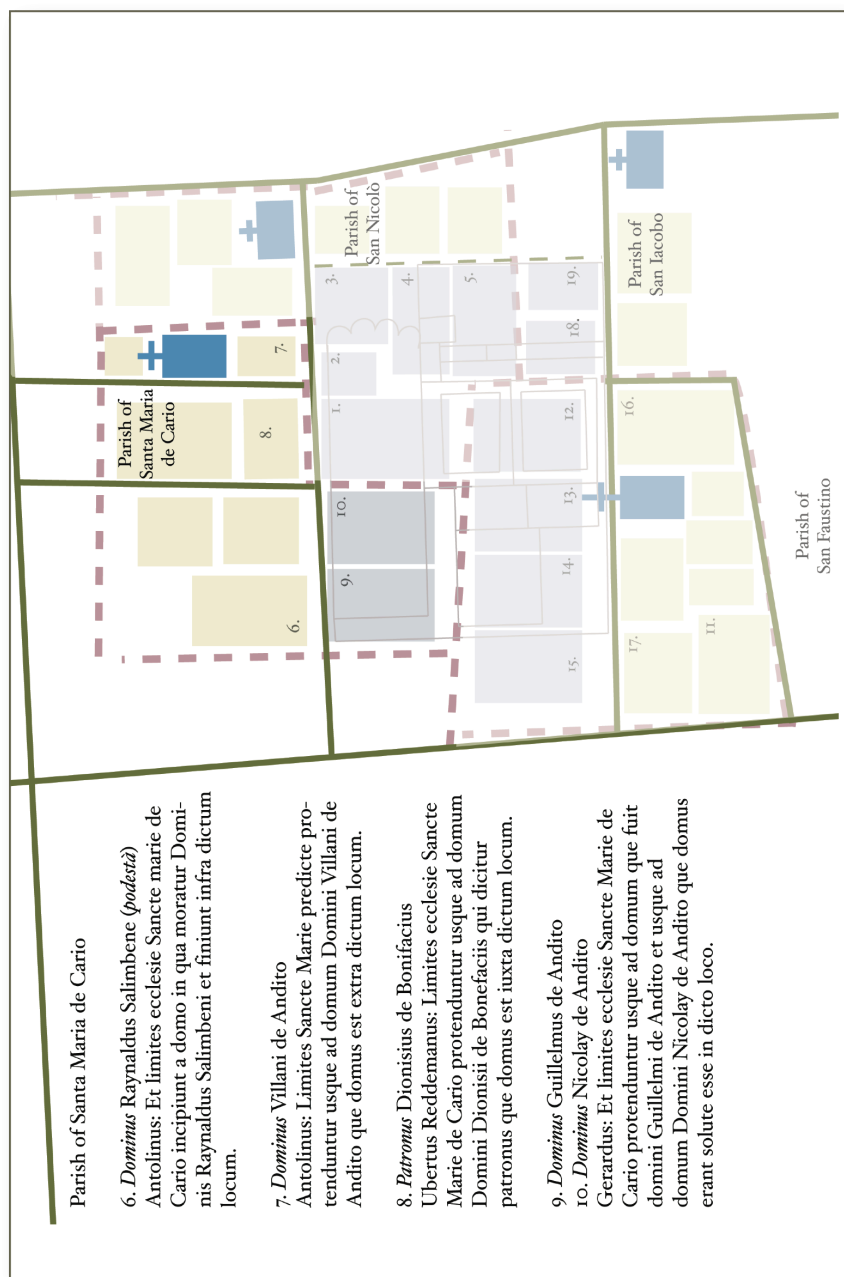


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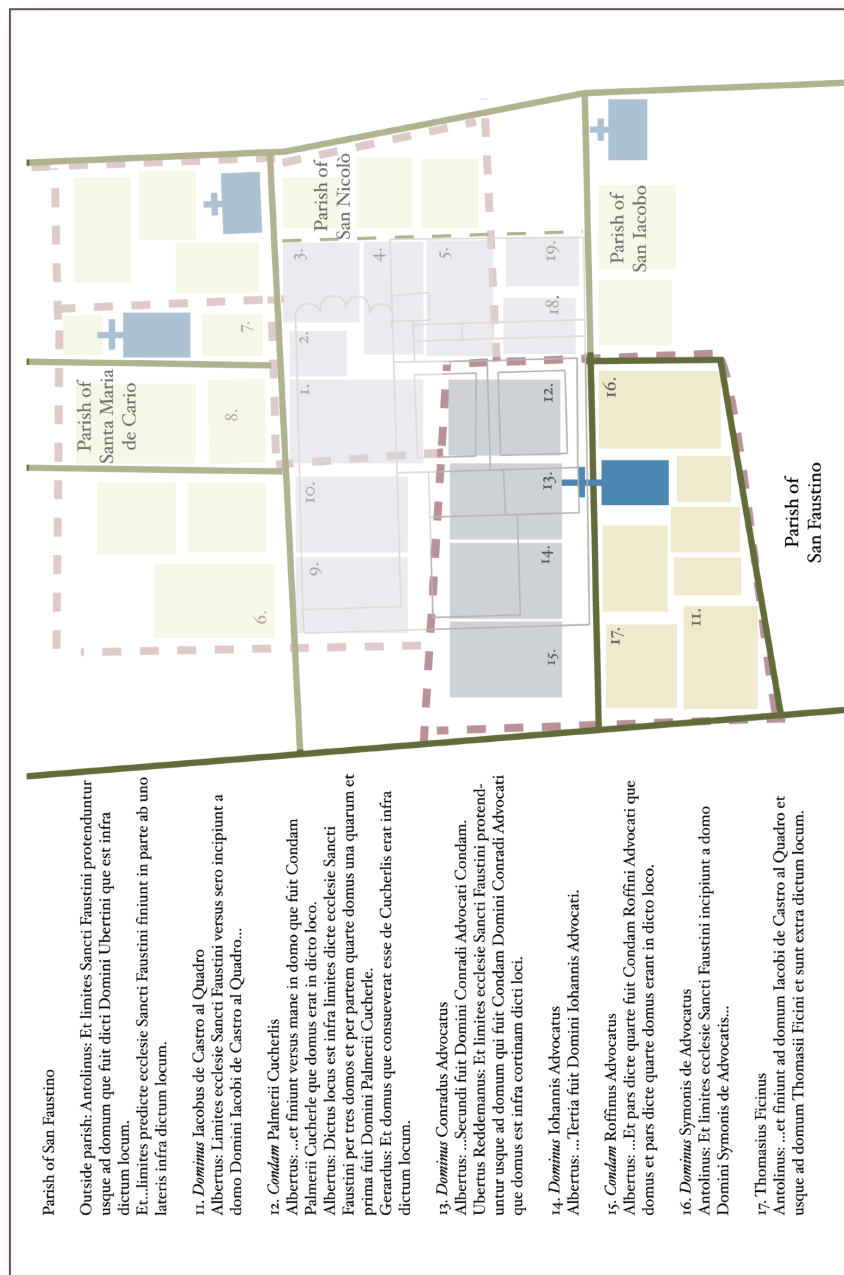


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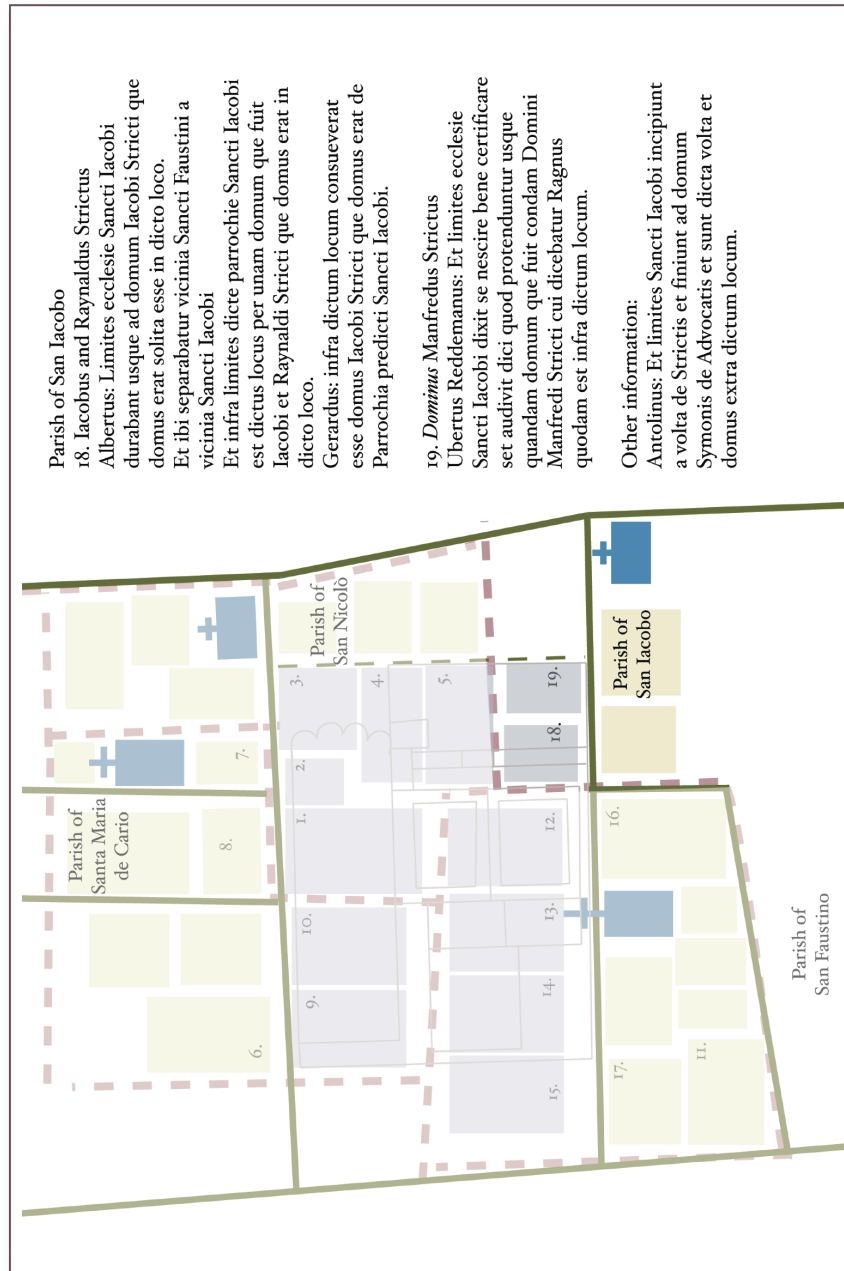


Figure 31.



Figure 32.





Figure 33.

# PRELIMINARY CONSTRUCTION

Iohannes de Christiana, Pres. Iacobus Guillelmus, Canonus & Simon mention the Via Publica in descriptions of the Cortina.

- By the time of the Denunciation, the Cortina was 6 Brachia, or 2.814 meters high & mostly complete.

- Magistri described building walls up on a scaffolding by Vincentius.

- Iohannes de Christiana describes friars working on the ground

- Vincentius: walls of stone & mortar (petra et creta)

Gerardus: Built cortina next to their church

Entrance along Via Publica

VIA PUBLICA

SPACE SOUTH OF VIA PUBLICA USED AS ORATORY/CHURCH

DEMOLITION OF HOUSES

CONSTRUCTION OF CORTINA

Antolinus, Cumignanus & Iohannes de Christiana cited construction in the east (orientem).

Iohannes C describes magistri working inside the cortina

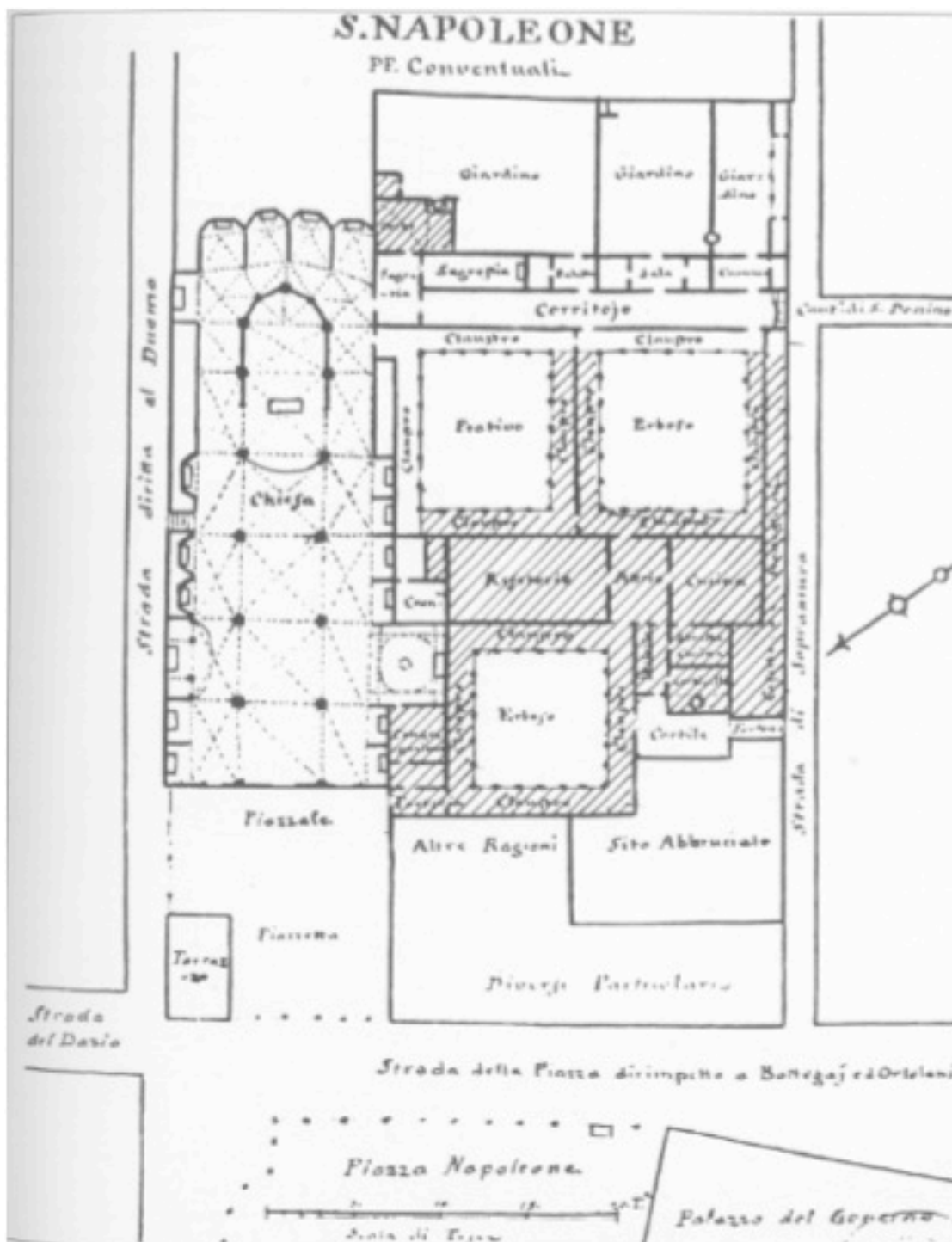
Iohannes C describes one magister working on the outside along via de supramuro

Rolandus & Iohannes Zanarellus describe construction to the south

VIA DE SUPRAMURO

Guillelmus, Simon, Canonus, and Iohannes de Christiana additionally mention the Via de Supramuro in descriptions of the Cortina.

Figure 34.



**Figure 35. San Napoleone (San Francesco in the 19th century)**

# CONSTRUCTION OF THE CONVENT 1278-1282

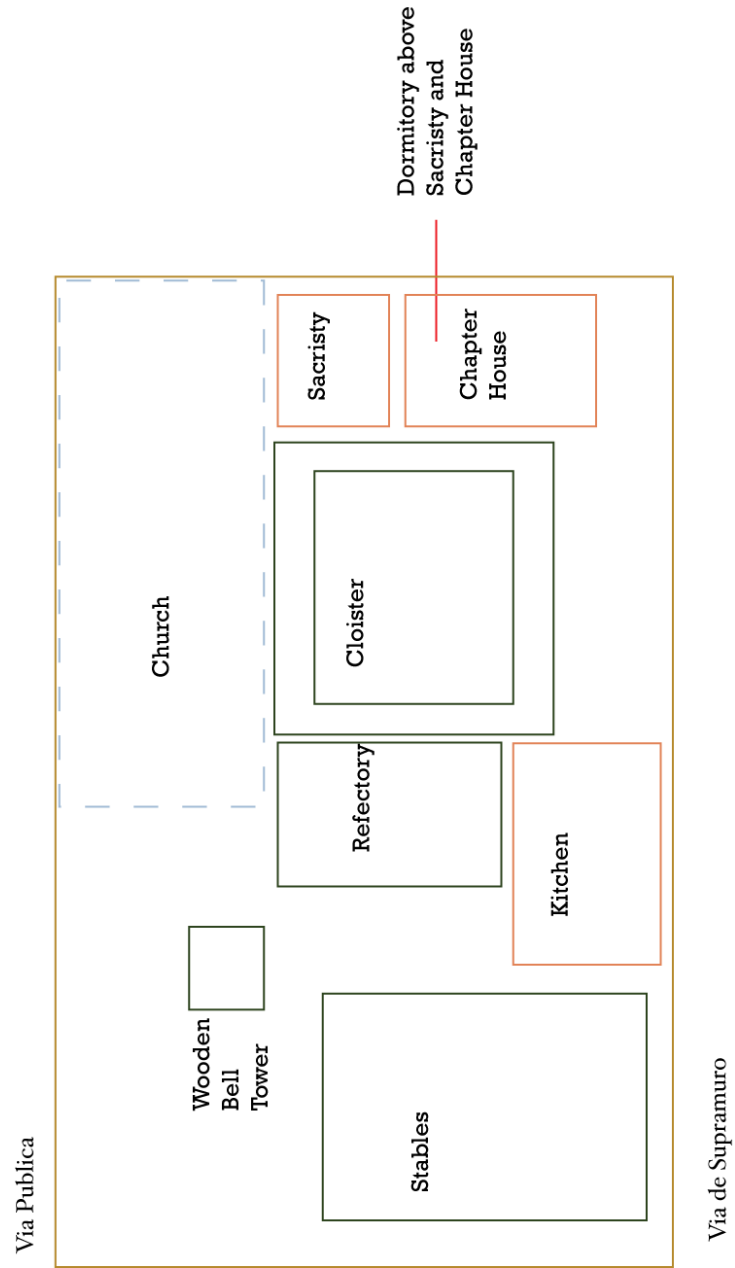


Figure 36.

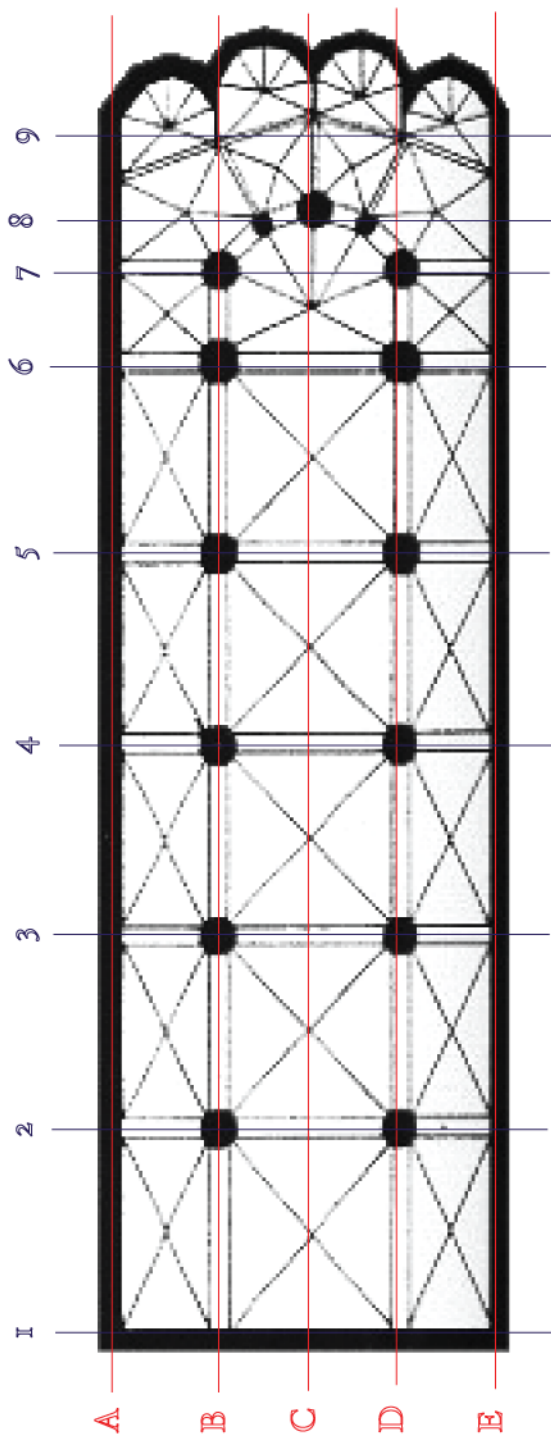


Figure 37.

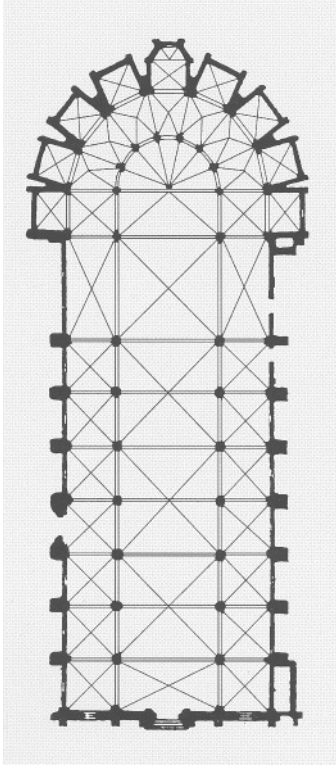


Figure 38.





Figure 39.



**Figure 40.**



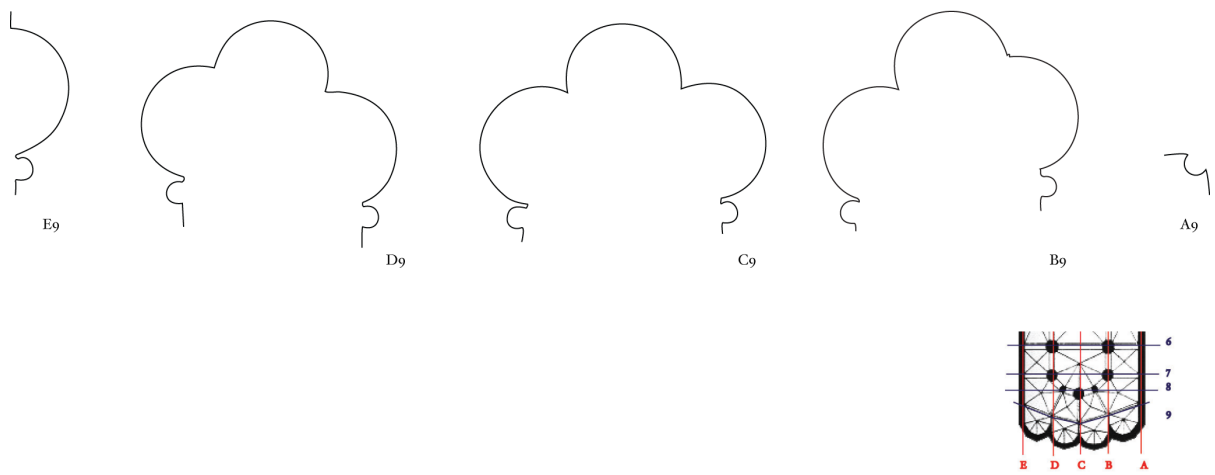


Figure 41. South Wall from Ambulatory



**Figure 42.**

San Francesco, Piacenza  
Apse Chapels  
Horizontal Sections, Pier Clusters



**Figure 43.**





Figure 44.





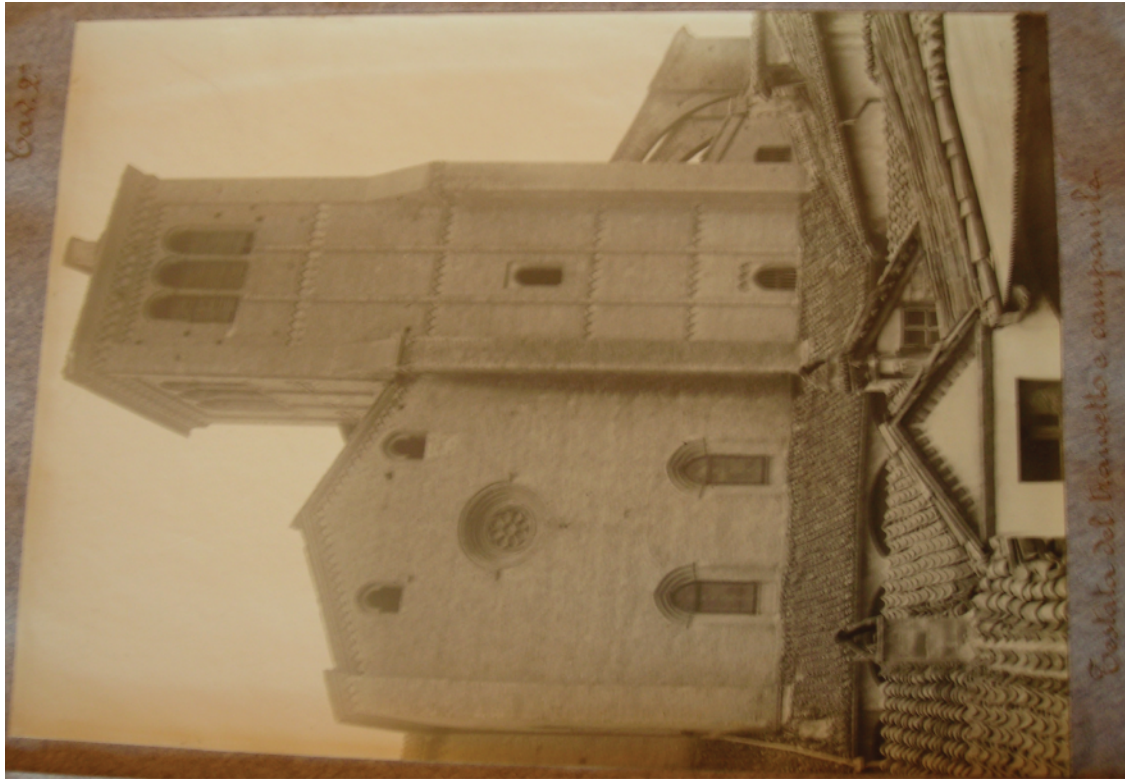


Figure 46.





Figure 47.





A789 Window Molding North Exterior



A56 Window Molding North Exterior (Transept)



A45 Window Molding  
North Exterior Wall



A34 Window Molding  
North Exterior Wall



A12 Window Molding North Exterior

**Figure 48.**





Figure 49.



# Ground Story Perimeter Wall Campaigns

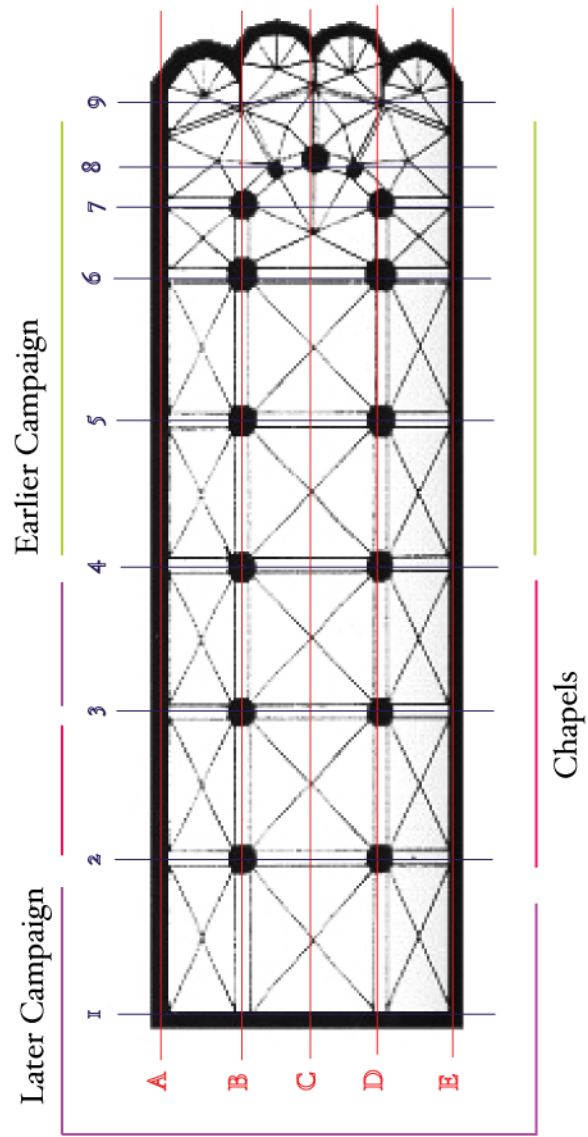


Figure 50.

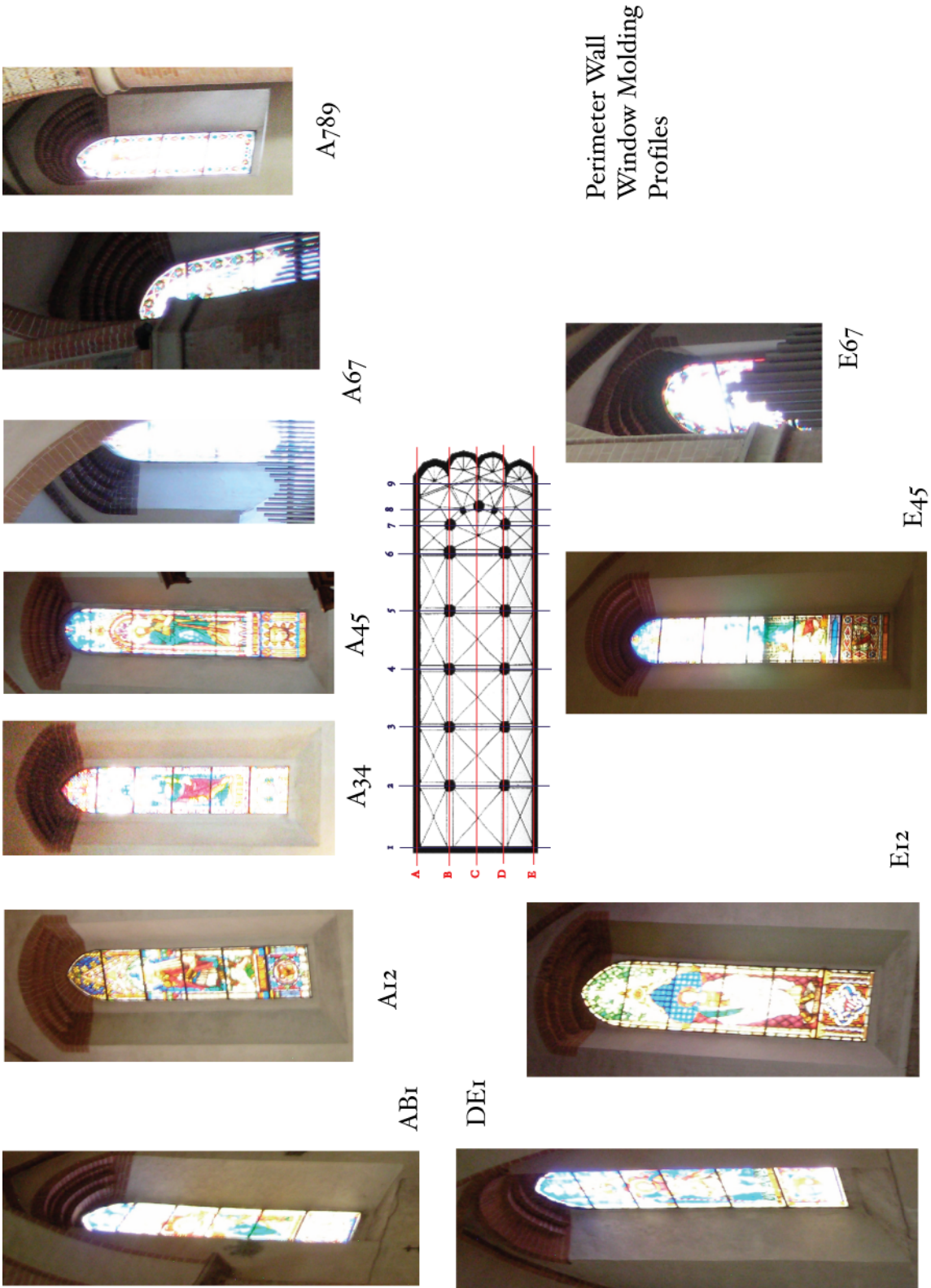


Figure 51.

Horizontal Profiles, Nave Perimeter Wall Shafts

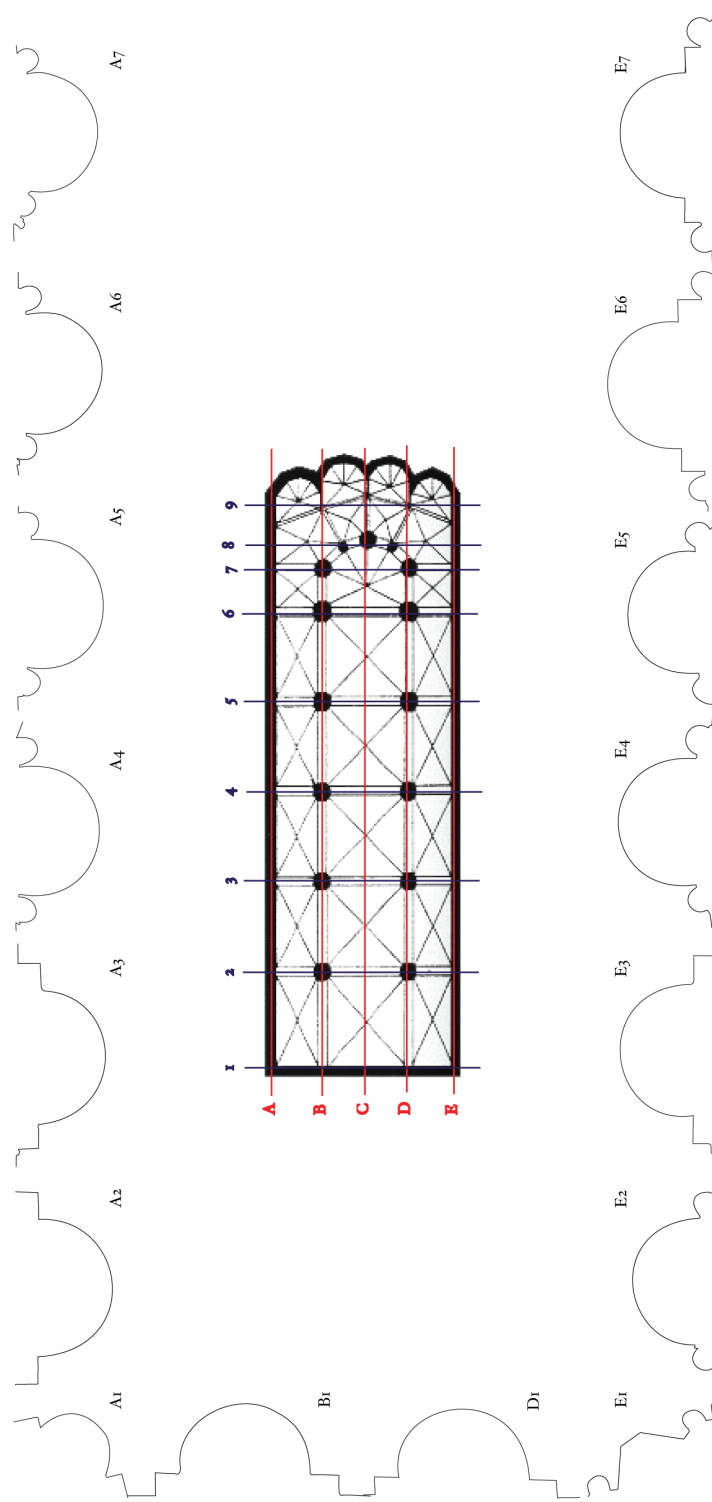


Figure 52.

# FIRST PHASES OF CHURCH: LOWER STORY PERIMETER WALL & EAST END

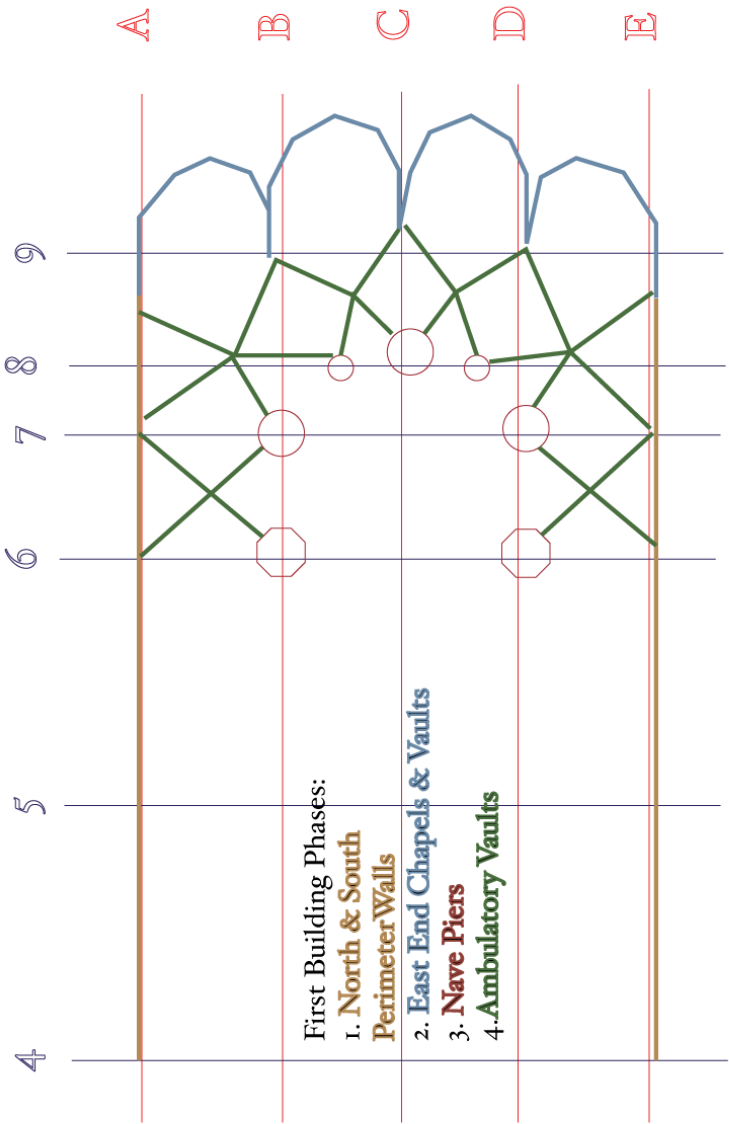


Figure 53.



B9 Base East End Chapels



B9 Base East End Chapels

Figure 54.





C9 Base, East Chapels



Figure 55.





D9 Base, East Chapels



Figure 56.





E9 Base, East Chapels



Figure 57.



San Francesco, Piacenza  
Apse chapel and hemicycle base comparison

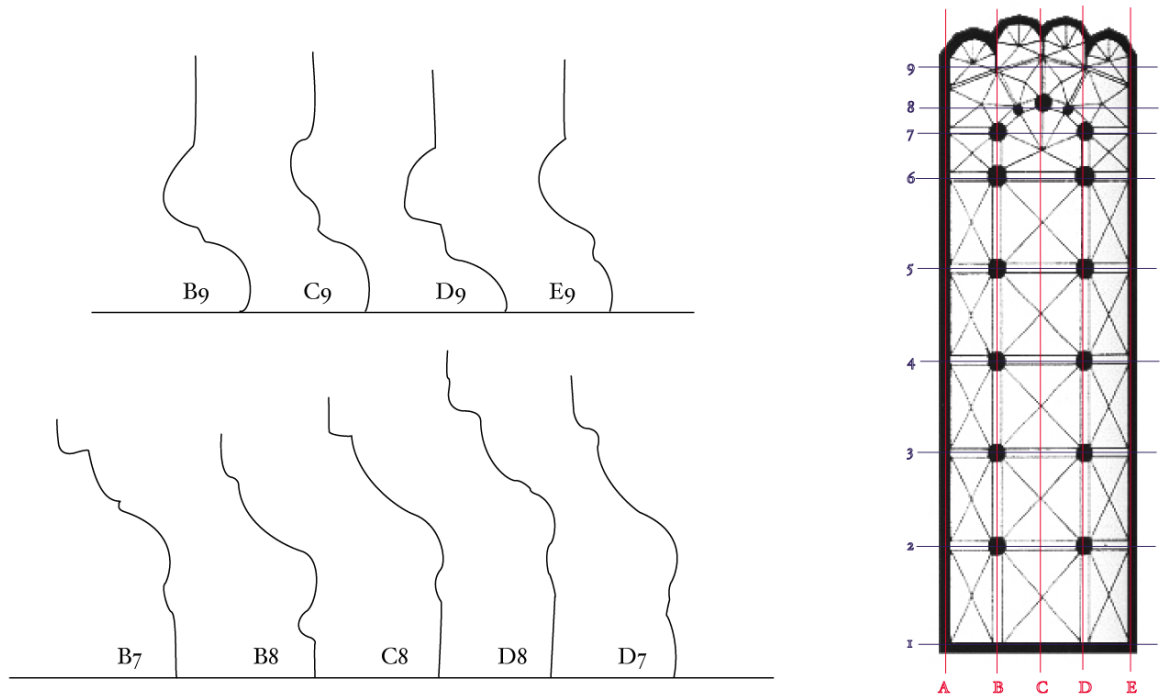
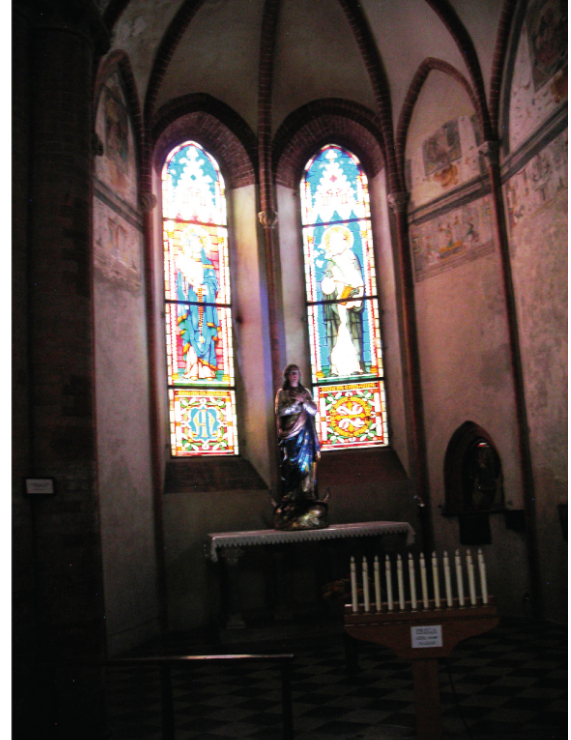


Figure 58.



BC9 Ambulatory Chapel



CD9 Ambulatory Chapel



DE9 Ambulatory Chapel

Figure 59.





Ambulatory Chapel Capitals B9



Ambulatory Chapel Capitals C9

**Figure 60.**





D9 Ambulatory Capitals



Capital Detail Chapel DE9

Figure 61.



Ambulatory Chapel Capital E9



Capital E7 South Perimeter Nave Wall (Ambulatory)

**Figure 62.**





Figure 63.





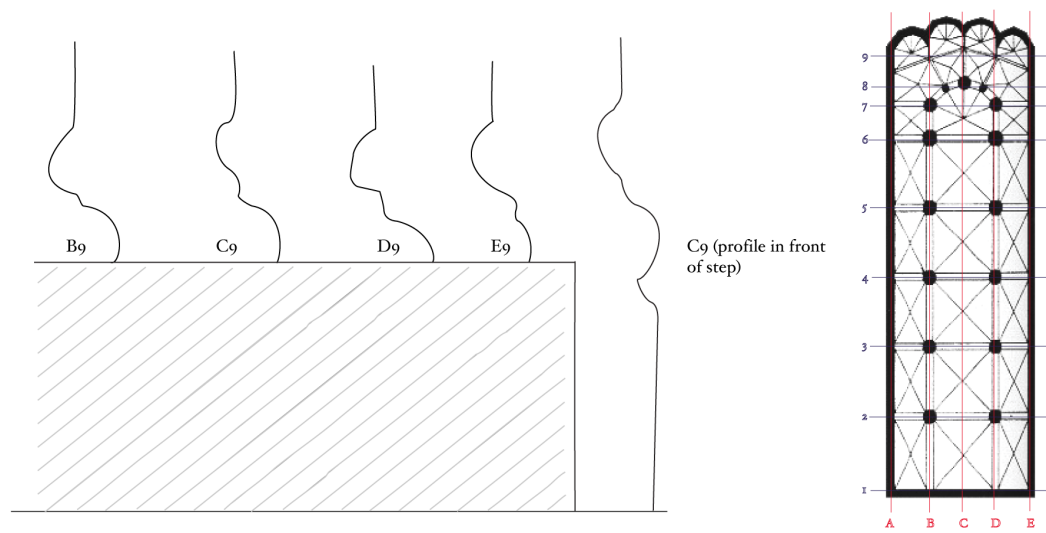
Figure 64.





Figure 65.





**Figure 66.**

# Apse Chapel Bases Compared with Nave Perimeter Wall Bases

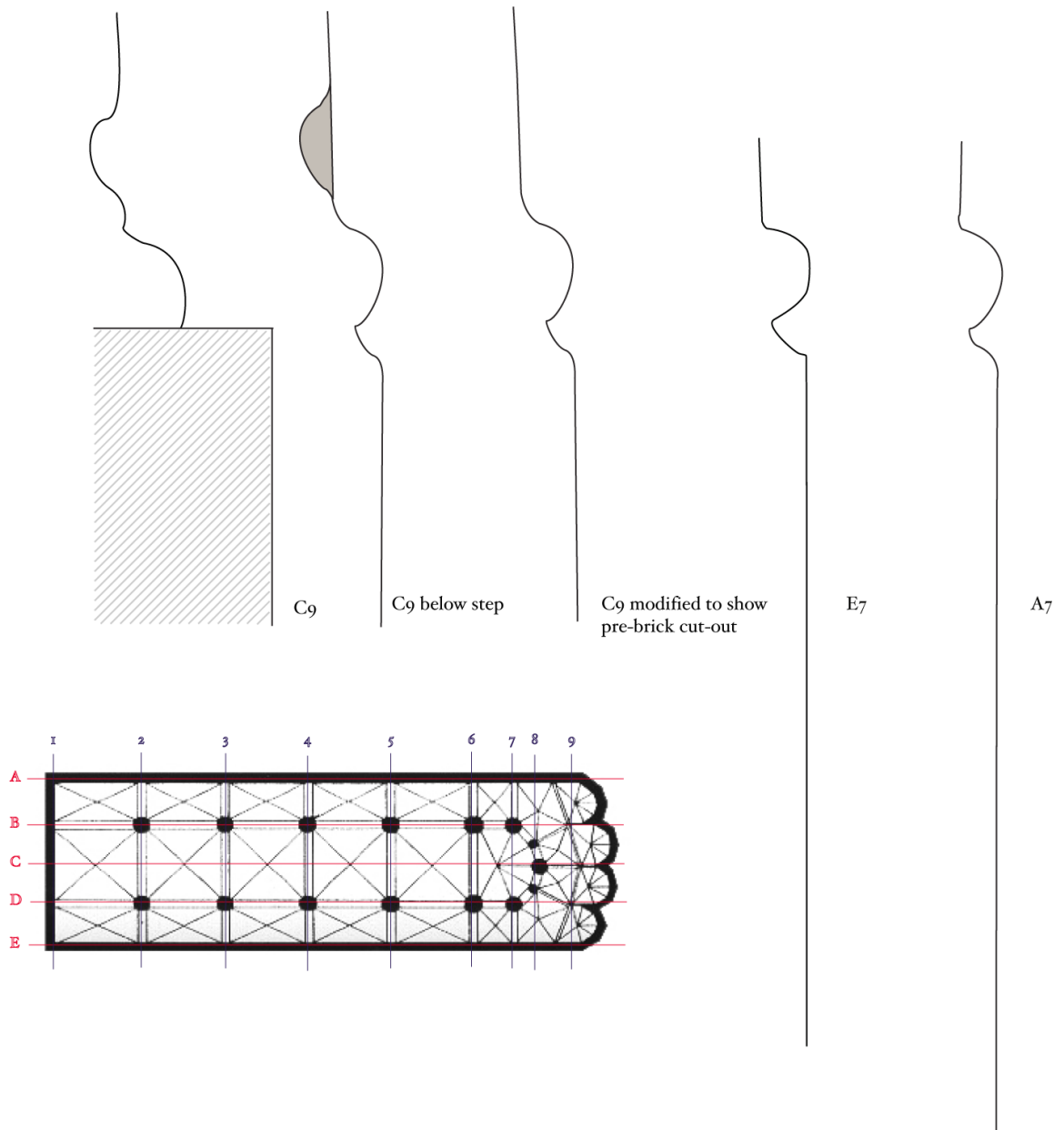


Figure 67.

Perimeter Wall Piers  
Up to A4/E4 line



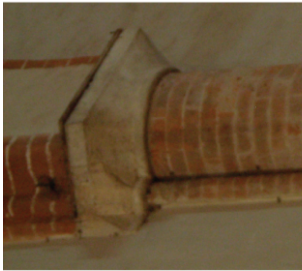
A7



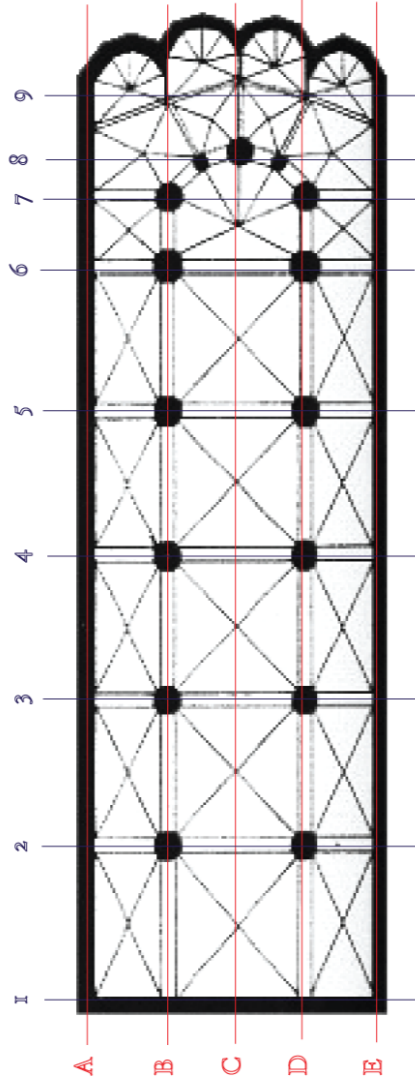
A6



A5



A4



E7



E6



E5



E4

Figure 68.



**Figure 69.**





Figure 70.





Figure 71.





Figure 72.





Figure 73.





Figure 74.

San Francesco, Piacenza  
Brick Measurements, North Perimeter Wall and Apse Piers

	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	B9	C9	D9
Height Base Bricks: Main Shaft	7 - 7.5 cm	7.5 - 8 cm	7.5 cm	7.3 - 7.9 cm	7.5 - 8 cm	7.5 - 8 cm	7 - 8 cm	n/a	n/a	n/a
Height Base Bricks: Responds	6 - 7.5 cm	6.5 - 8 cm	7.5 cm	7.3 - 8 cm	7 - 8 cm	7 - 8 cm	7 - 7.5 cm	n/a	n/a	n/a
Height Shaft Bricks	6.5 - 7 cm (3 rows) then 4.7 - 5.4 cm	7 - 8 cm	7 - 8 cm	7.5 - 8 cm	7.5 cm; shifts to 6.5 cm at 17th course	7.5 cm; shifts to 6.5 cm at 17th course	7 - 7.5 cm; shifts to 6.5 at ?th course	7 - 8 cm	7 - 8.7 cm	7.5 - 8.5 cm
Height Respond Bricks	n/a	n/a	n/a	5.8 - 6.2 cm	5 - 6.5 cm	5.5 - 6.5 cm	5.7 - 6.5 cm	5.5 - 6.7 cm	illegible	6 - 6.5 cm
Height Square Responds	5.5 - 7.4	6.5 - 7.5 cm	6 - 8 cm	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Height Mortar Beds	0.2 - 2 cm	0.1 - 1.5 cm	1 - 5 mm	0.5 cm			0.2 - 1.2 cm	2 mm	1 - 3 mm	1 - 2 mm

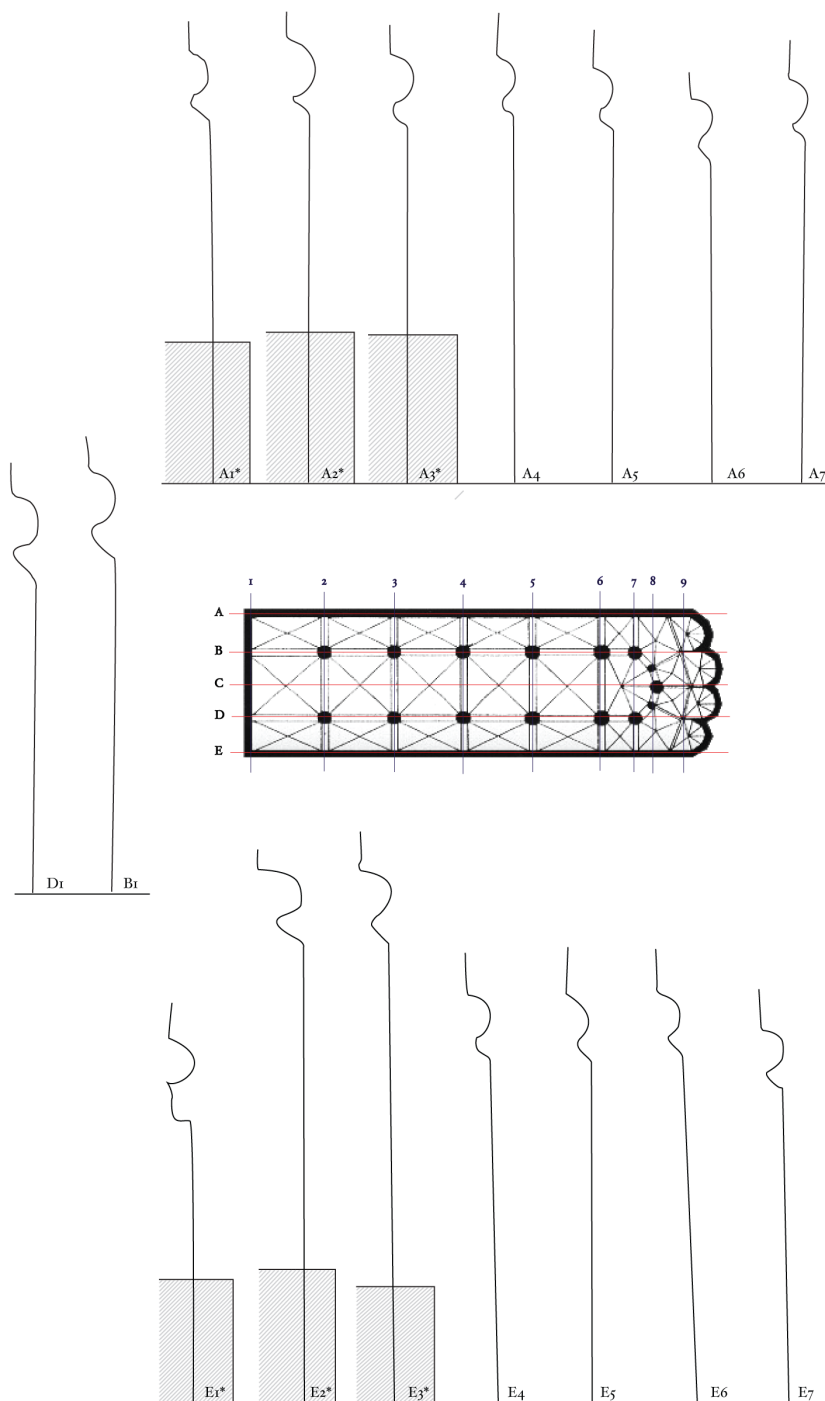
Figure 75.

San Francesco, Piacenza  
Brick Measurements, South and West Perimeter Walls

	E9	E7	E6	E5	E4	E3	E2	E1	D1	B1
Height Base Bricks: Main Shaft	n/a	8 cm	7.5 cm (one 7.2 and one 8.2)	6.4 - 7.5 cm	7.5 cm	7.5 cm	7 - 8 cm	illegible	7.3 - 7.5 cm	7.3 - 8 cm
Height Base Bricks: Responds	n/a	illegible	7.5 cm	7 - 7.5 cm	illegible	6 cm	7.5 - 8 cm	illegible	4.5 - 7 cm	6 - 6.5 cm
Height Shaft Bricks	6.5 - 7.5 cm	7.4 - 8 cm	7.5 cm	7 - 7.8 cm	7.5 - 8 cm	7.5 cm	7 cm	6 - 7 cm	7.5 - 7.8 cm	7.5 - 7.8 cm
Height Respond Bricks	6.5 - 7.5 cm	5.7 - 6.5 cm	6 - 6.5 cm	5 - 6.5 cm	5.7 - 6.5 cm		6 - 7 cm	6 - 6.5 cm		
Height Square Responds	n/a	6.4 - 6.8 cm	5 - 6.5 cm						6 - 8 cm	6 - 7.6 cm
Height Mortar Beds		1 - 4 mm	3 - 5 mm shaft and 1 - 3 mm in responds		0.5 mm - 5 mm	1 - 4 mm	1 - 5 mm	2 - 8 mm	1.5 - 5 mm	1 - 8 mm

Figure 76.

San Francesco, Piacenza  
Side Wall Bases



\*Grey indicates step added later, occluding bases

**Figure 77.**





Figure 78.



Figure 79.



Perimeter Wall Capitals  
West End

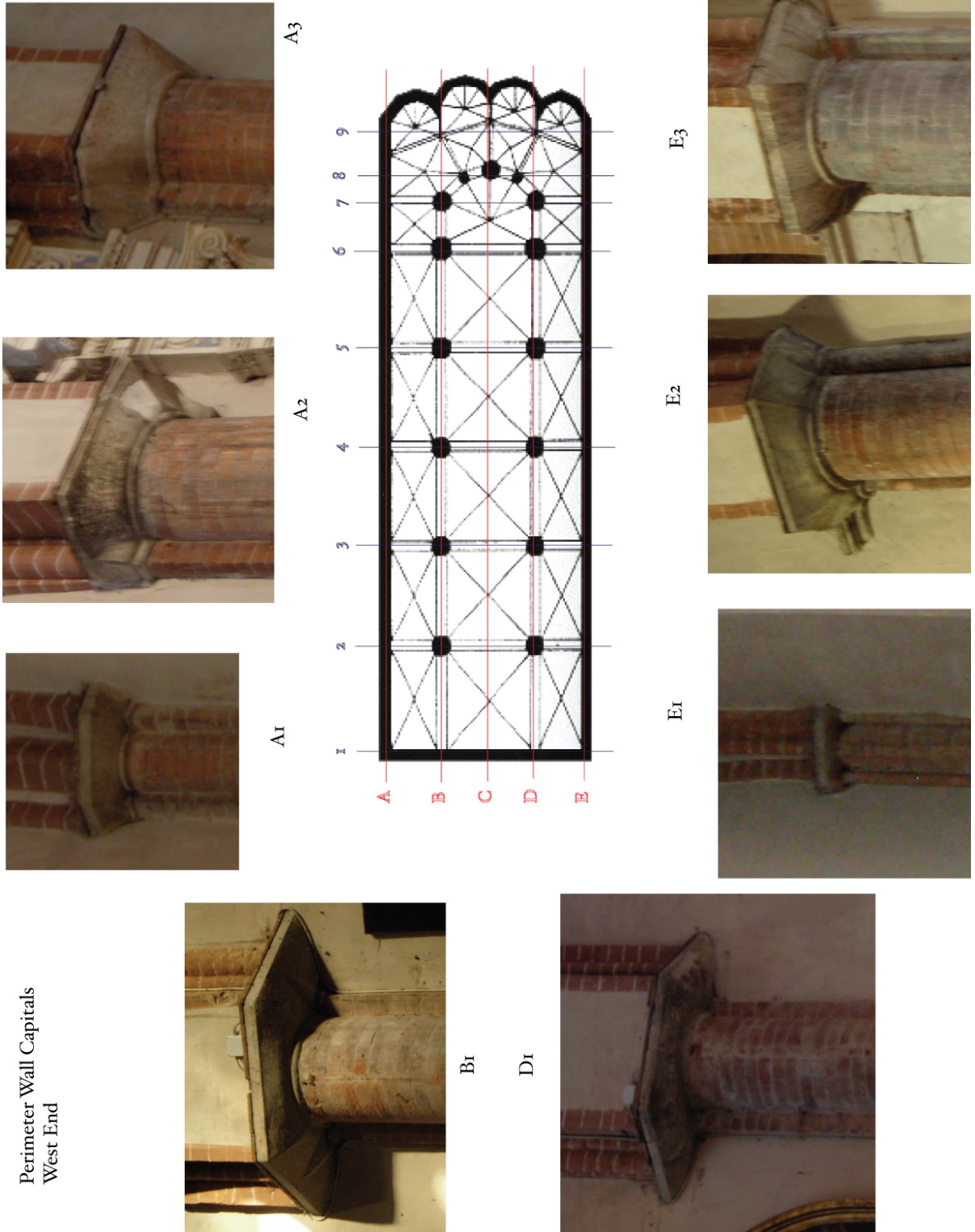


Figure 80.



Figure 81.





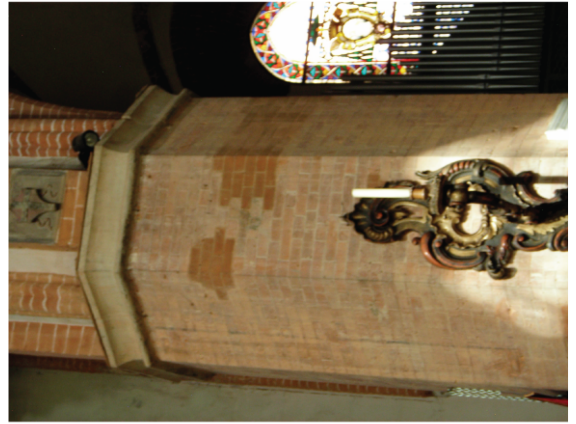
B4



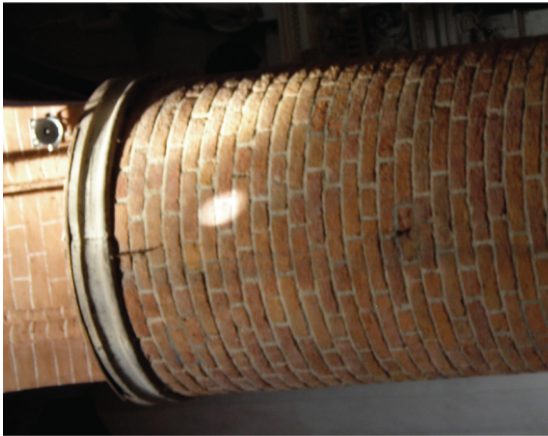
B7



B3



B6



B2



B5

Figure 82.

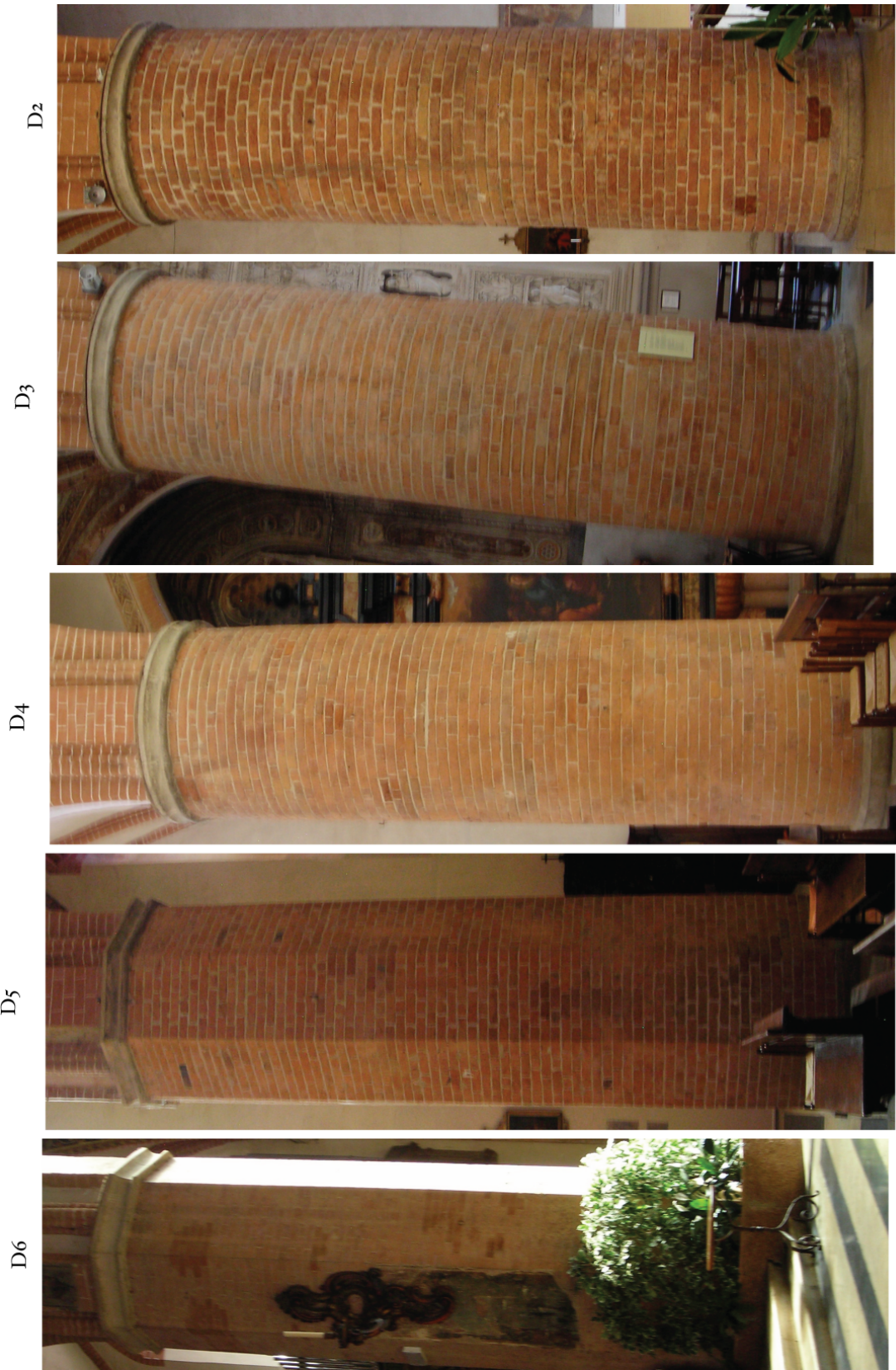
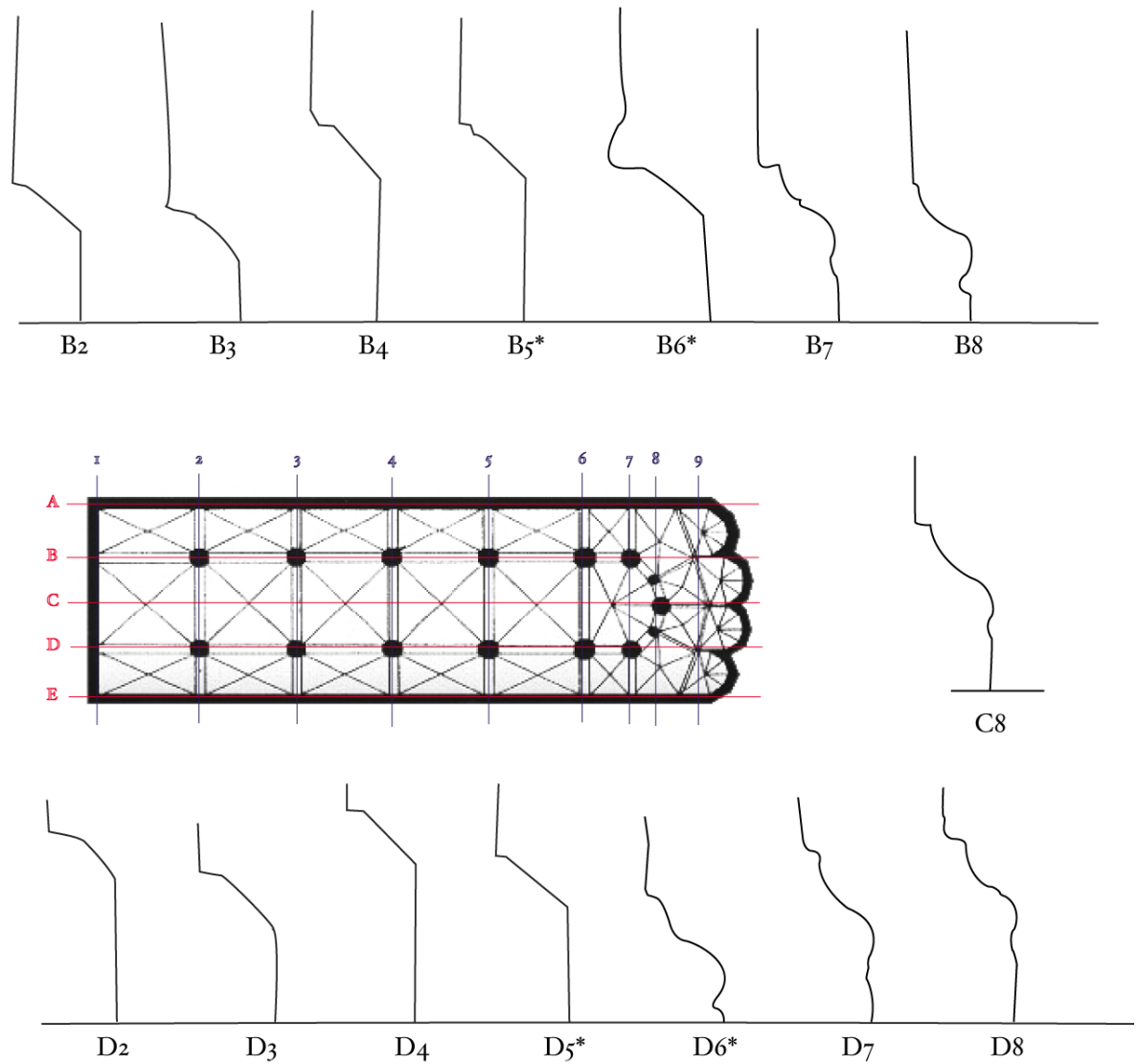


Figure 83.

Nave Piers D Side (South)



Base Comparison  
Nave and Hemicycle Piers  
San Francesco, Piacenza



\*octagonal piers

Figure 84.

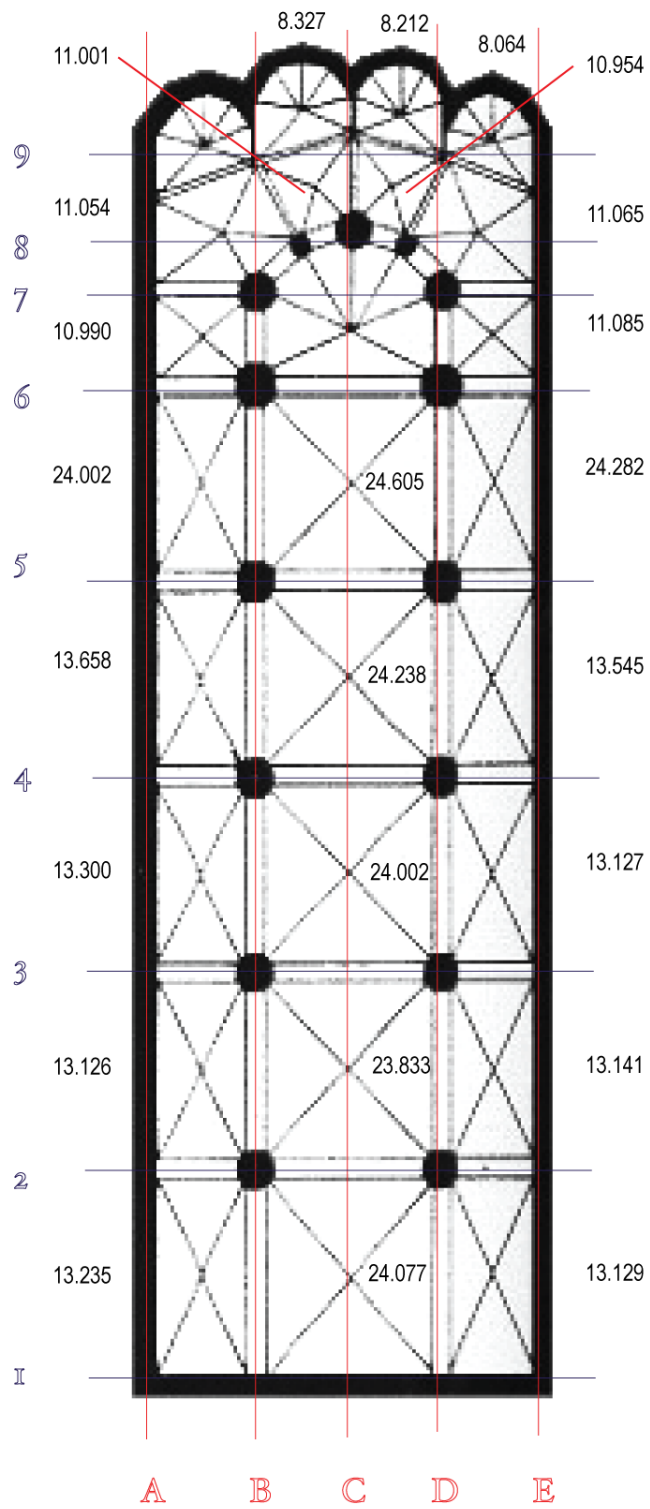
San Francesco, Piacenza  
Brick Measurements, Nave Piers

	B <sub>2</sub>	B <sub>3</sub>	B <sub>4</sub>	B <sub>5</sub>	B <sub>6</sub>	B <sub>7</sub>	B <sub>8</sub>
Brick Height	7.5 - 9 cm	7.2 - 8.4 cm	6 - 8.2 cm	6 - 7.5 cm	6.9 - 7 cm	7.5 cm	7 - 7.5 cm (7.3)
Height Mortar Beds	0.5 - 2.2 cm	0.5 - 1.8 cm	0.4 - 1.5 cm	0.5 - 1.5 cm	2 mm		1 - 3 mm

C <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>
7 - 7.5 cm (7.2)	7 - 7.4 cm	7.4 - 7.6 cm	7 cm	6 - 8 cm	7.6 - 8.5 cm	7 - 7.9 cm	6.5 - 8.4 cm
1 - 5 mm (2 mm)	1 - 5 mm (1-2 mm)	0.5 - 2 mm		0.5 - 2 cm	0.5 mm - 1 cm	0.6 - 1.7 cm	0.5 - 2.2 cm

Figure 85.



Vault Heights

Figure 86.



Figure 87.



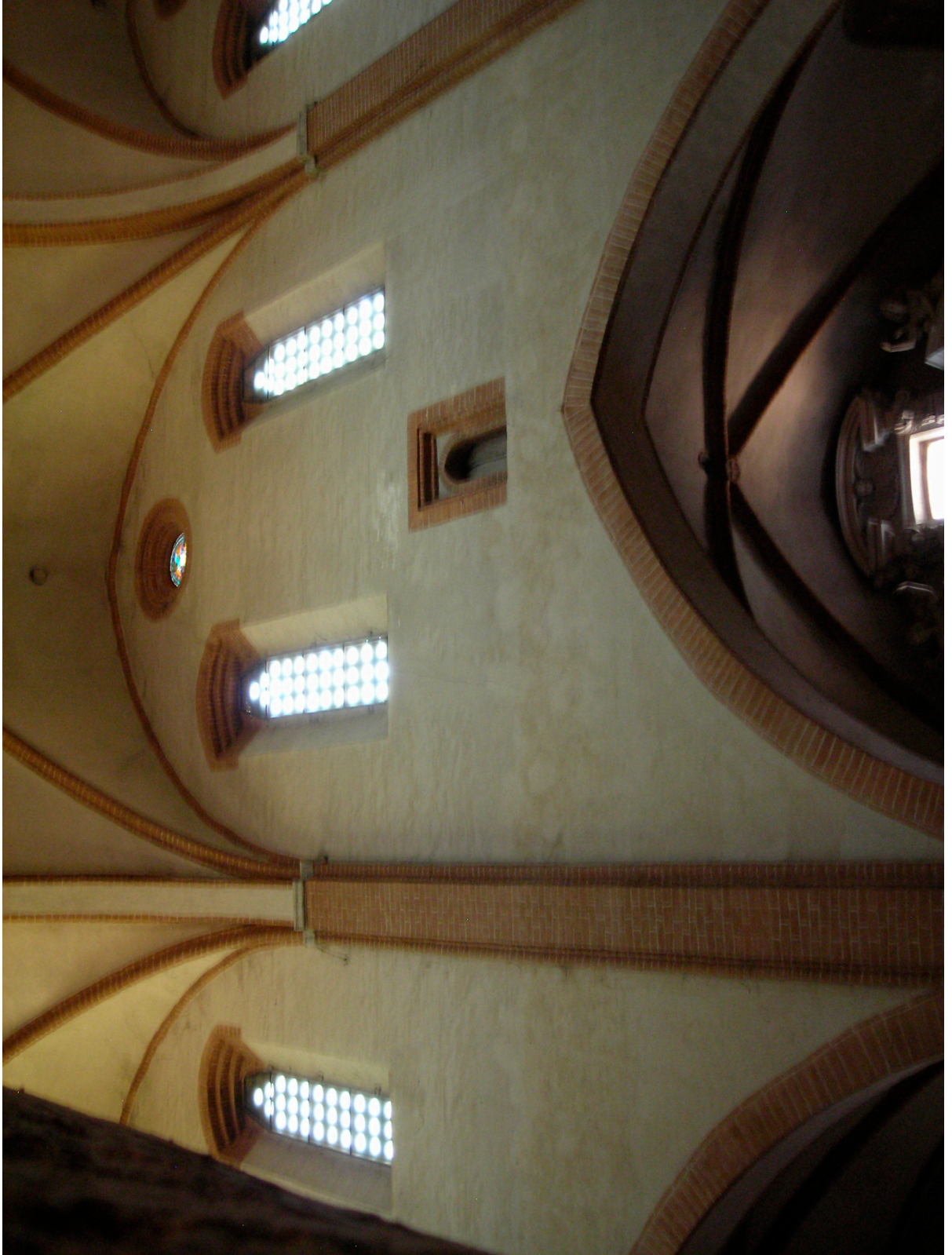


Figure 88.



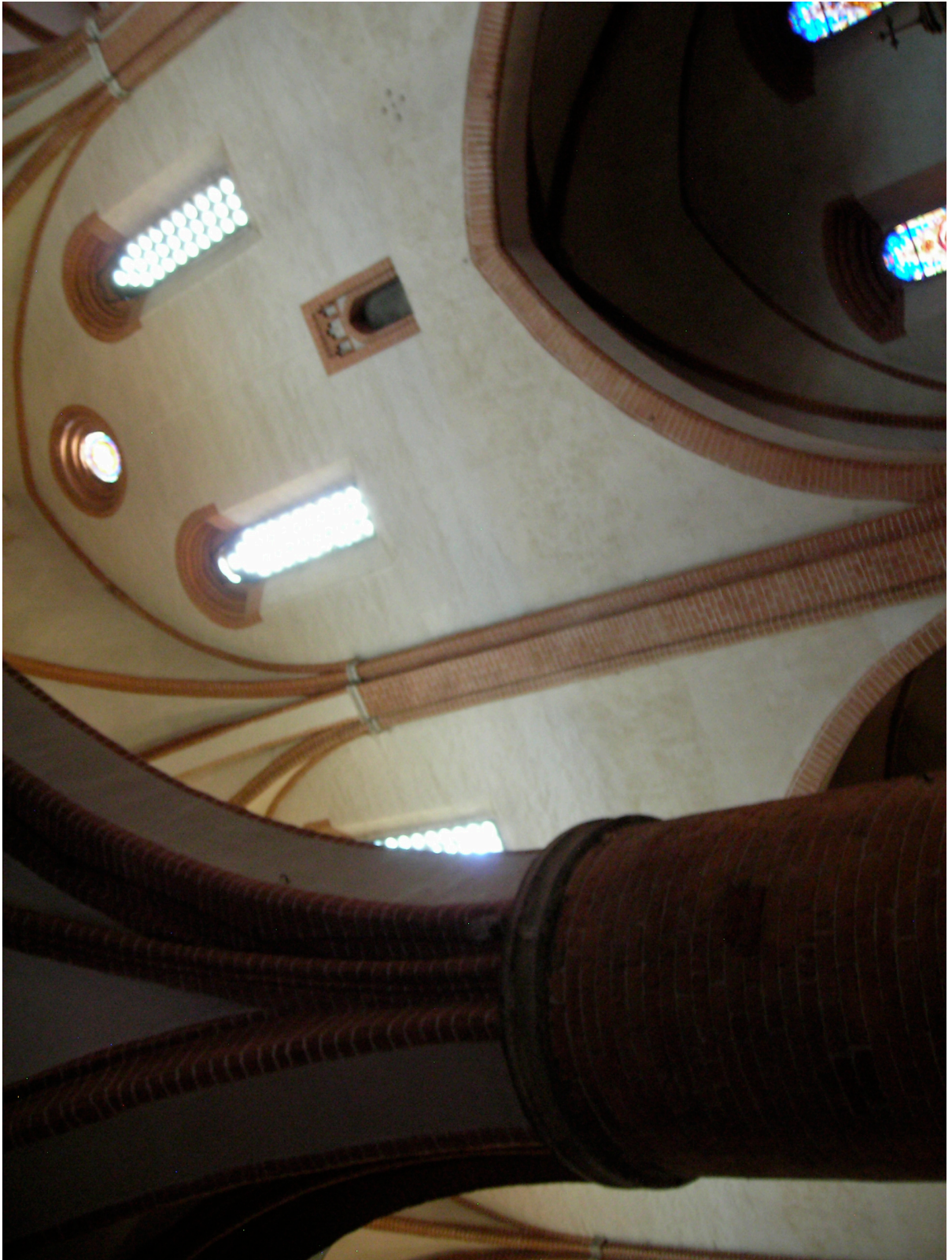


Figure 89.





Figure 90.





Figure 91.





Figure 92.





Figure 93.





Figure 94.





Figure 95.

San Francesco, Piacenza  
Brick Measurements Over South Aisle

	Vault DE <sub>45</sub>	Wall D <sub>45</sub>		Wall D <sub>23</sub> *	D <sub>2</sub> Buttress	Wall D <sub>12</sub>	Vault DE <sub>12</sub>	Façade Interior	Wall E <sub>12</sub>
Brick Height	5.2, 5.3 cm	6-6.5 cm		5.5 - 6.5 cm	7 cm	6 cm	5 cm	6 cm	6.5 cm
Brick Length		28.5-29.5 cm		28 cm	29 cm	29 cm		28.5-31 cm	29 cm
Brick Width		12 cm		11-12 cm	11 cm	11 cm	11.5-12 cm	11.5 cm	12 cm
Mortar Beds		1.5, 2 cm			2 cm				

Figure 96.

San Francesco, Piacenza  
Brick Measurements Over North Aisle

	Wall B4-5	Wall B3-4	Wall B2-3	Wall B1-2	Façade
Brick Height	6-7 cm	5.5-7 cm	5.5-6.5 cm		6.5 cm
Brick Length	28-29 cm	28-29.5 cm	29 cm		29-30 cm
Brick Width	11-11.5 cm	11 cm	11-11.5 cm		11.5 cm
Mortar Beds		fat	2 cm		

Figure 97.



San Francesco, Piacenza  
Brick Measurements, Interior of Campanile

	South Wall	West Wall	Relieving Arch-West Wall	North Wall	South Wall Window
Brick Height	6, 6.5 cm	6 cm	5.5, 5.5, 6 cm	6, 6.2, 6.5 cm	6.4, 5.4, 6.4, 6, 6 cm
Mortar Bed	2 cm	1.5 cm	1 cm	1, 1.5, 1.5, 2 cm	

Figure 98.



Figure 99.





Figure 100.





Figure 101.





Figure 102.

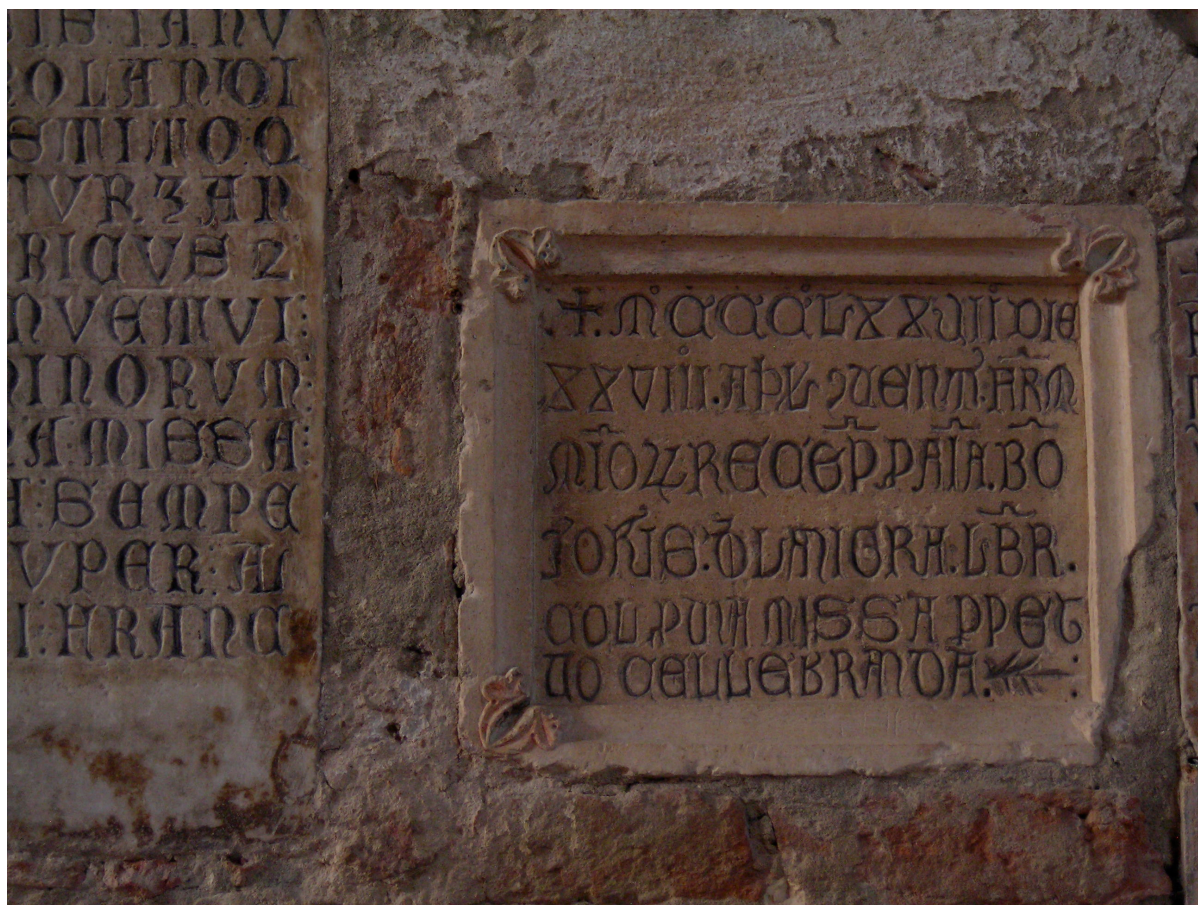


Figure 103.



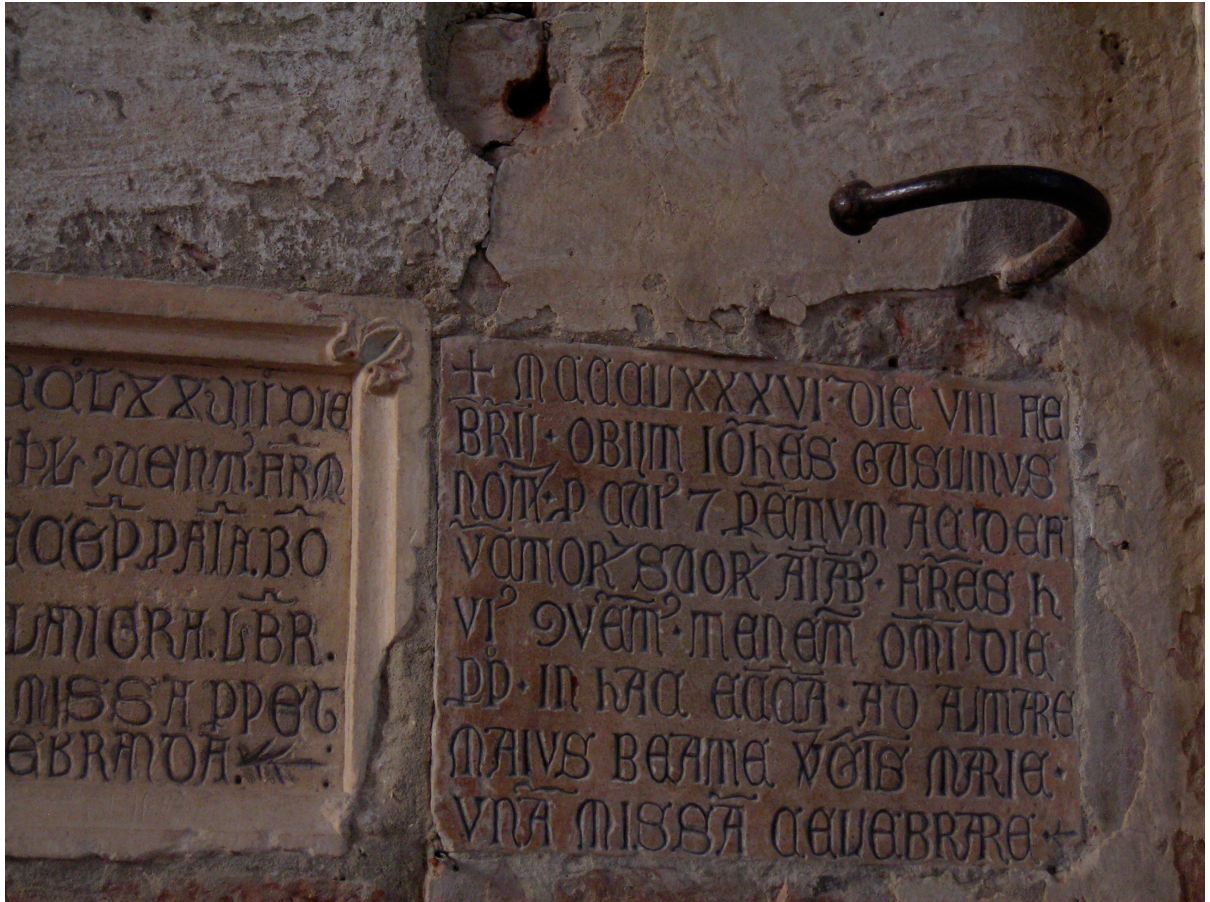
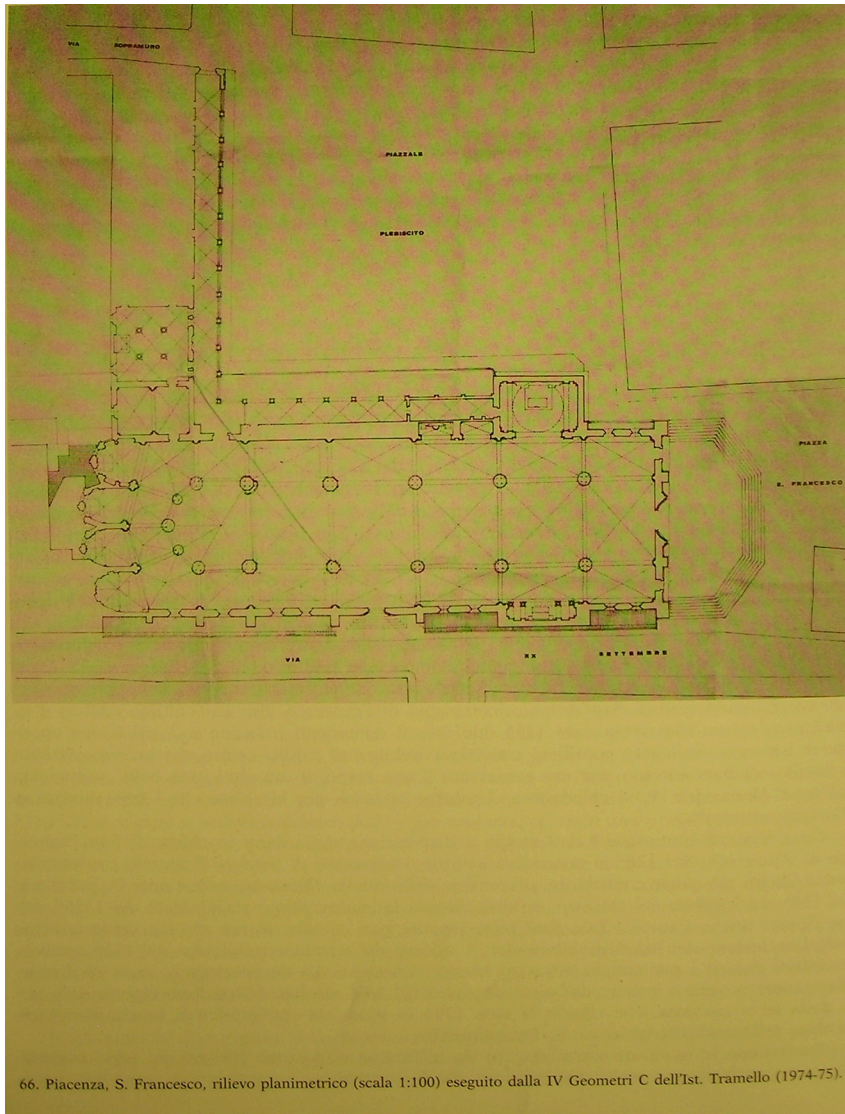


Figure 104.





**Figure 105. Plan created by the IV Geometri C dell'Istituto Tramello (1974-75) reproduced in Valenzano, 1997**

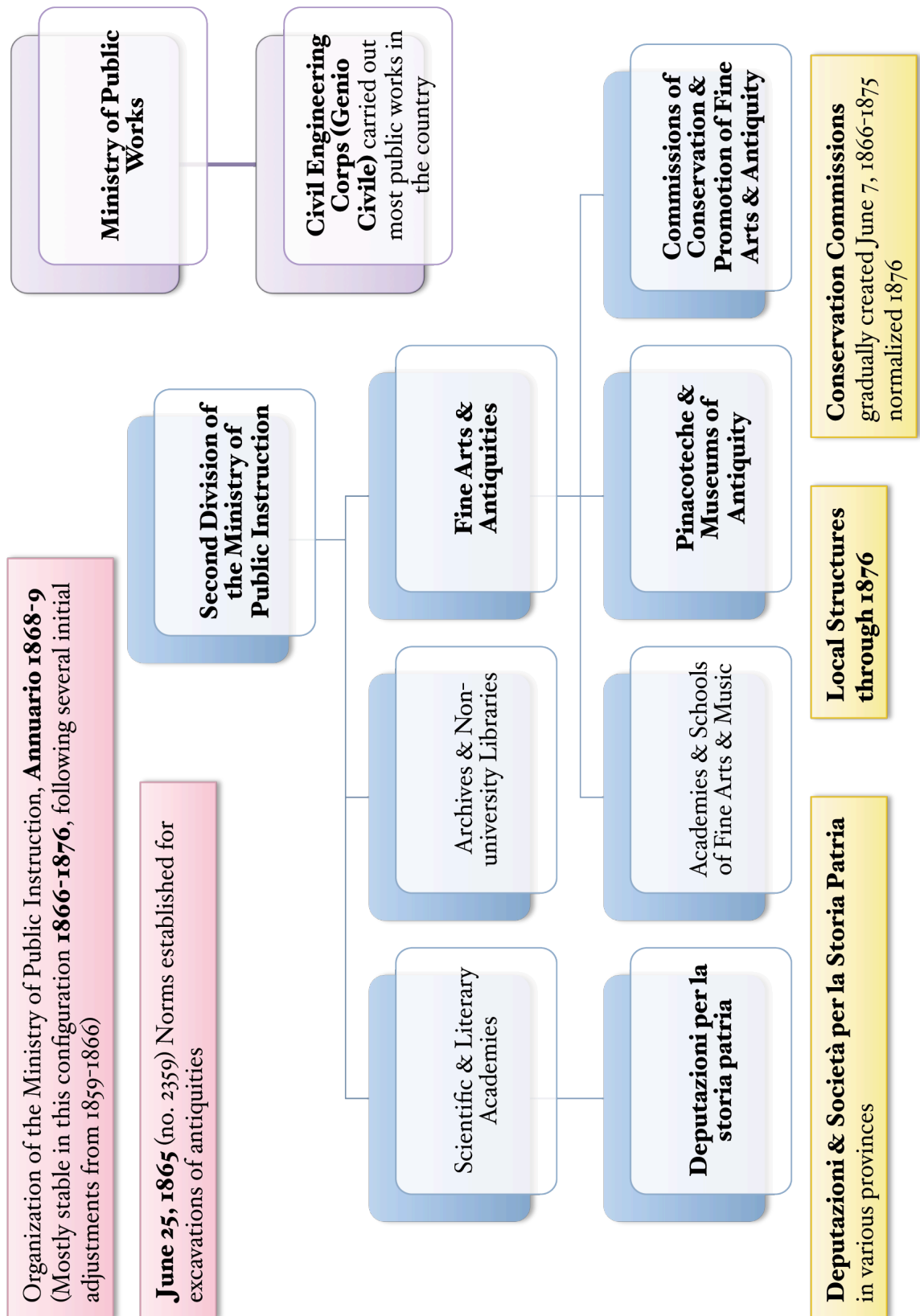


Figure 106. Detail of Second Division of the Ministry of Public Instruction

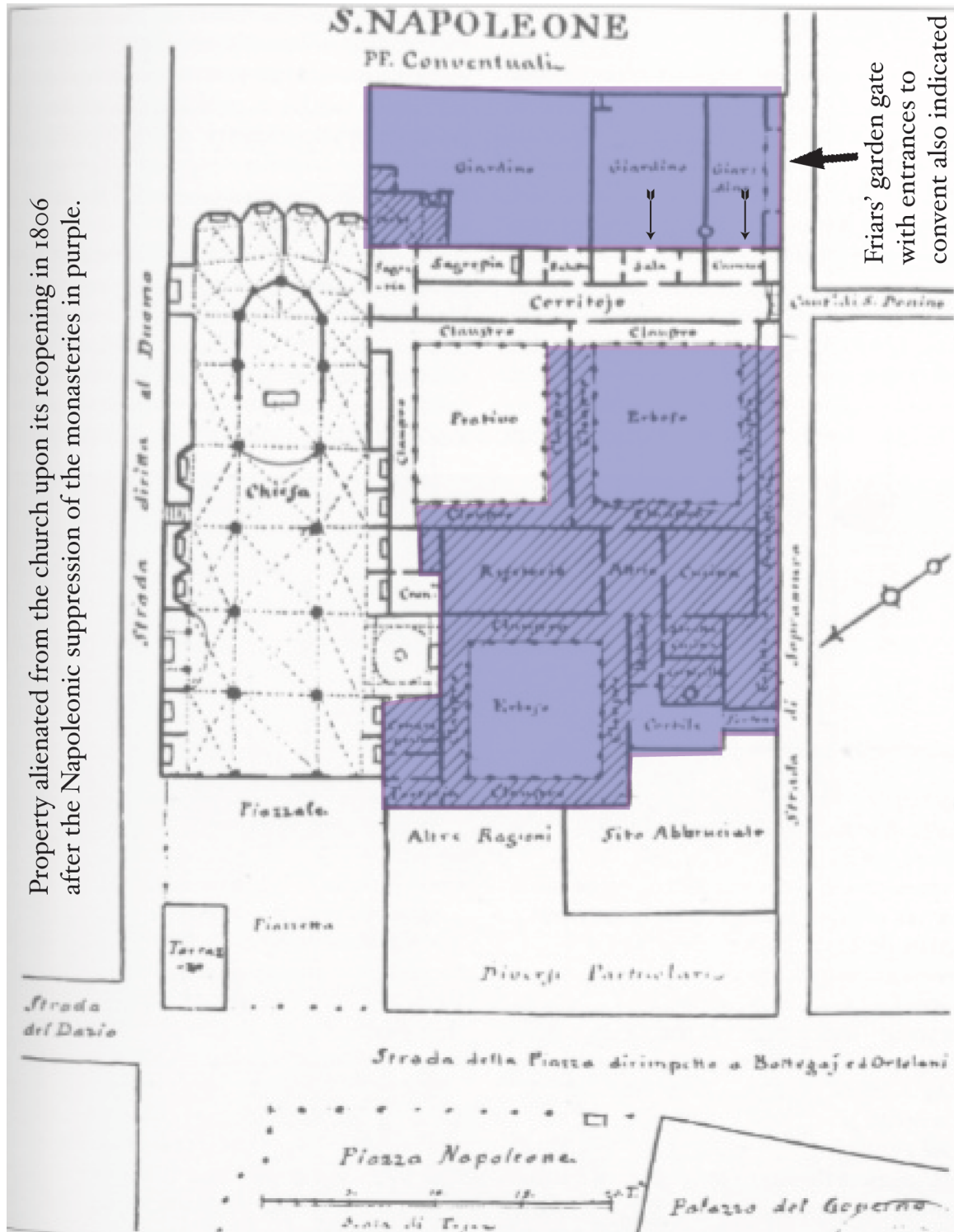


Figure 107. Convent in 1806

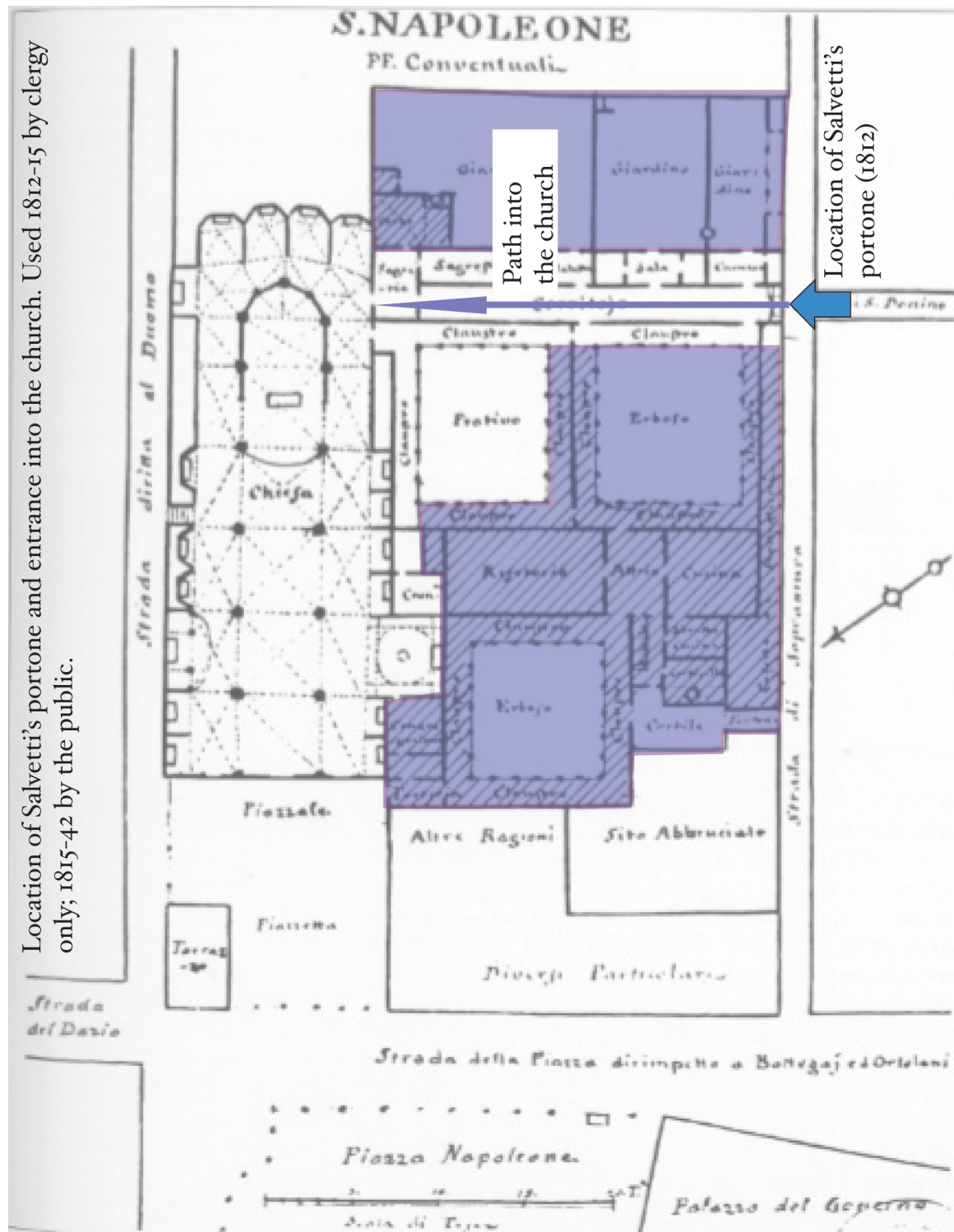


Figure 108. Southern access to the church, 1812-1842



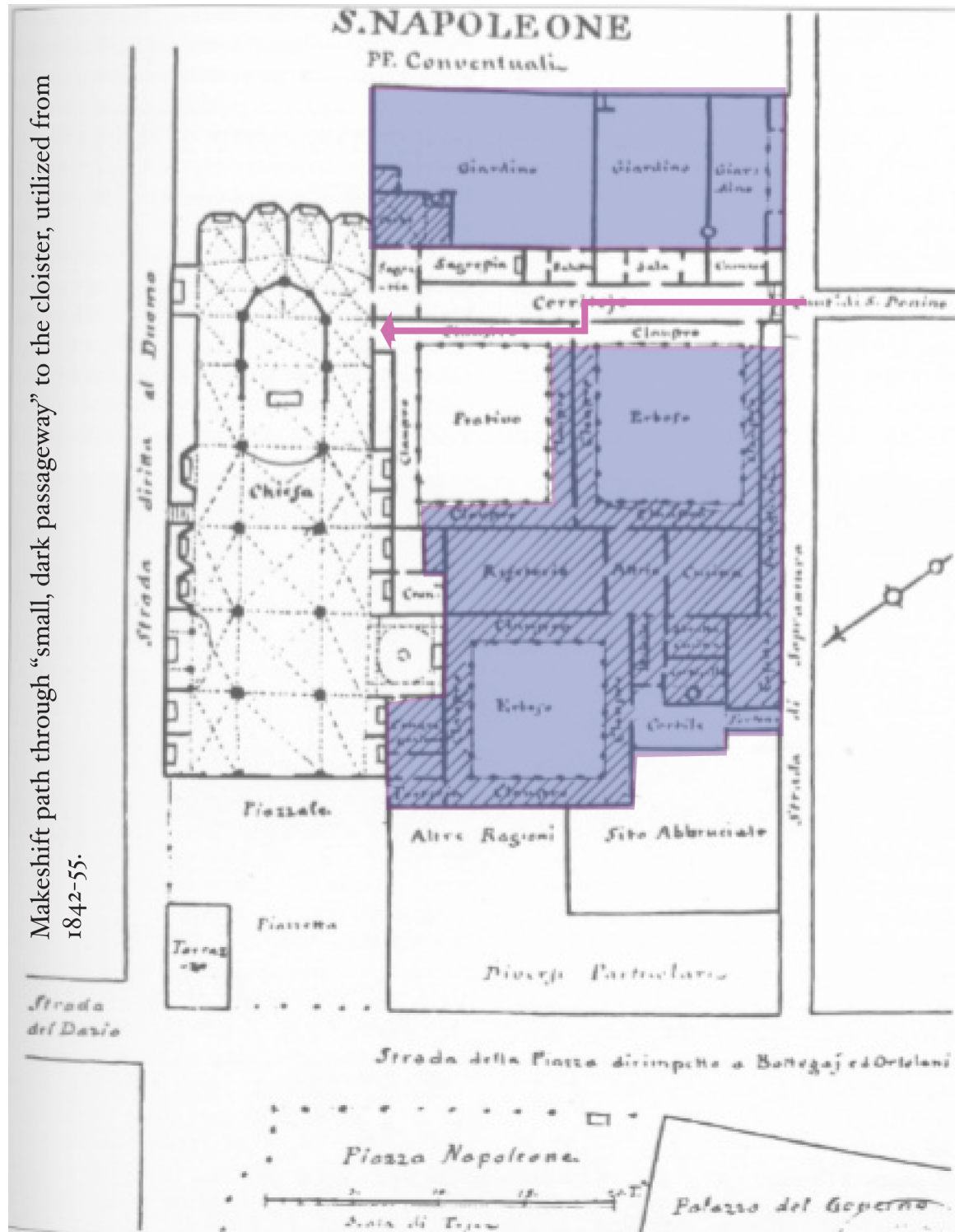


Figure 109. Path used by the public through the convent, 1842-55

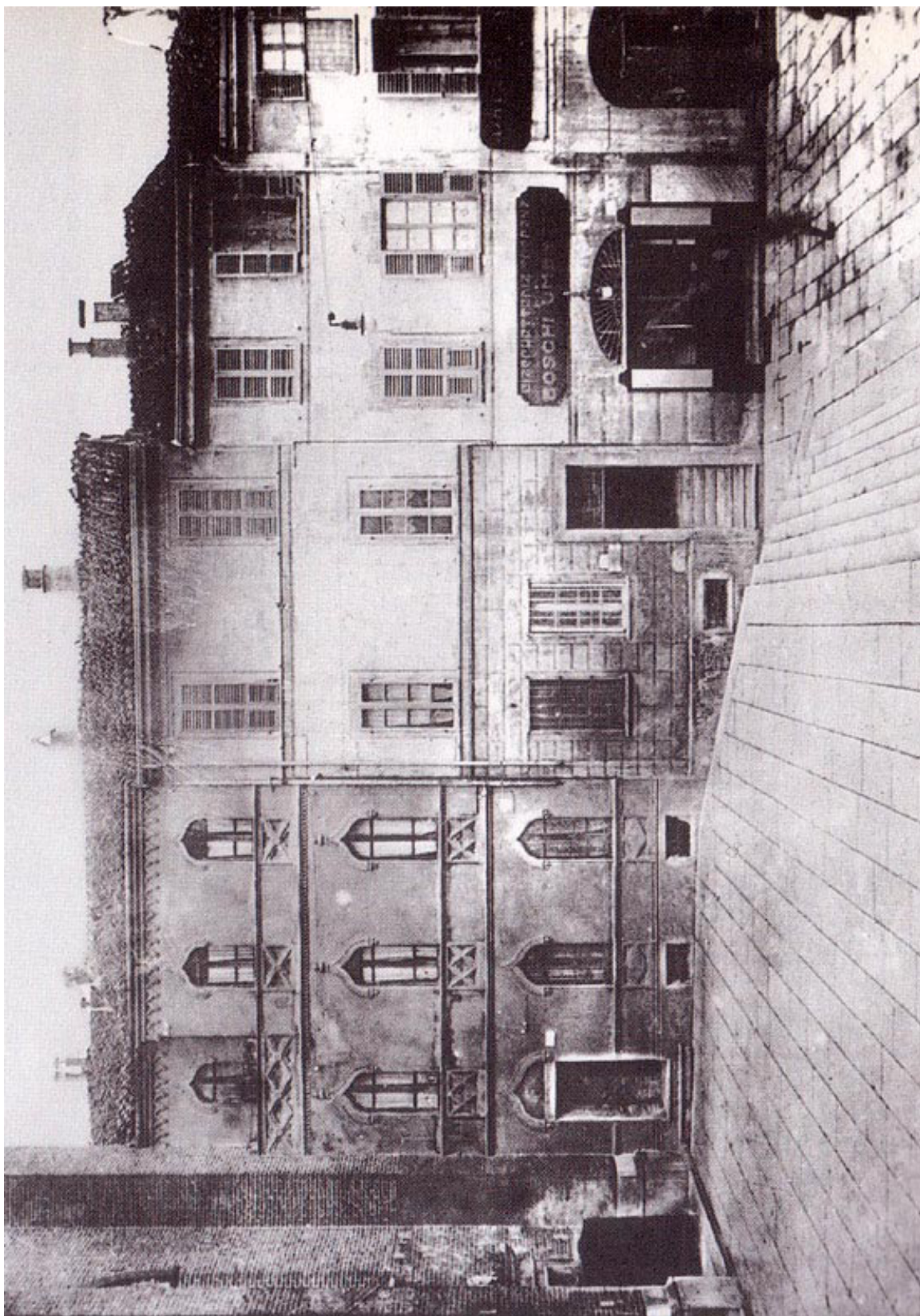


Figure 110. West façade of San Francesco in Piacenza with adjacent houses. From Internet forum "Piacenza sparita." Unknown date but prior to 1932 demolitions.





Figure 111. 1922 Catasto showing reduced cloisters, alienated property



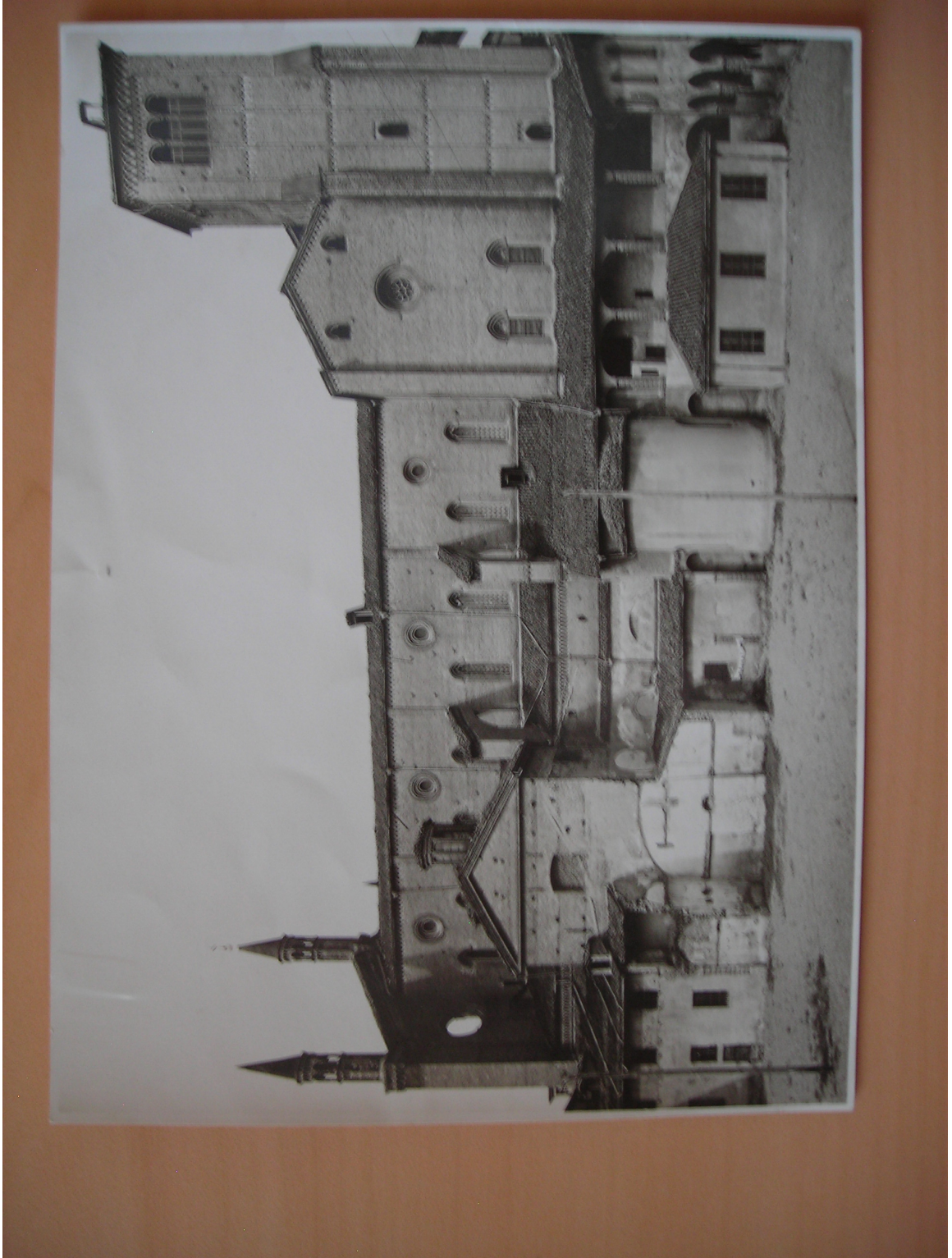
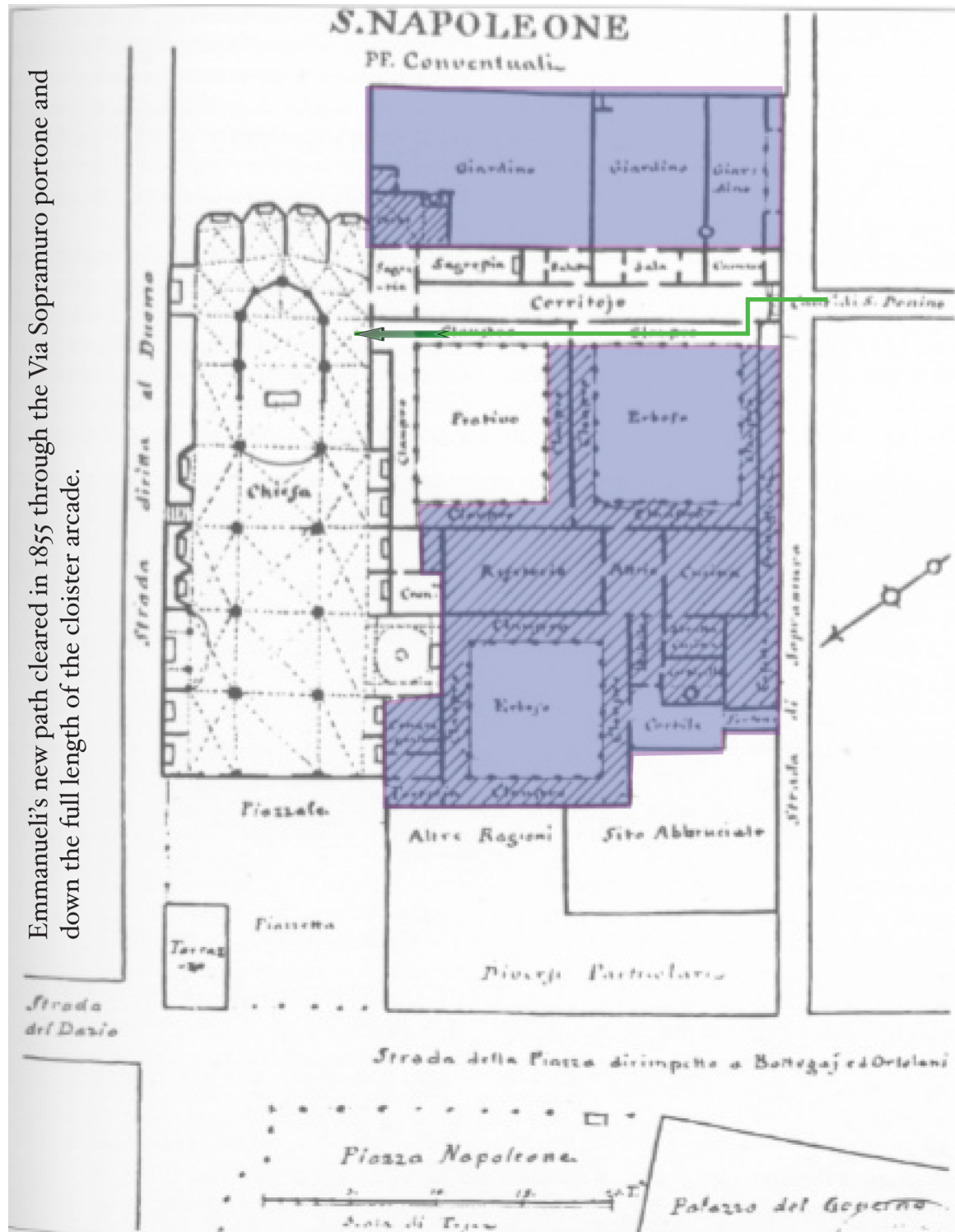


Figure 112. 1932 image of south flank of San Francisco





Figure 113. Cloister arcade in 2012



Emmanueli's new path cleared in 1855 through the Via Sopramuro portone and down the full length of the cloister arcade.

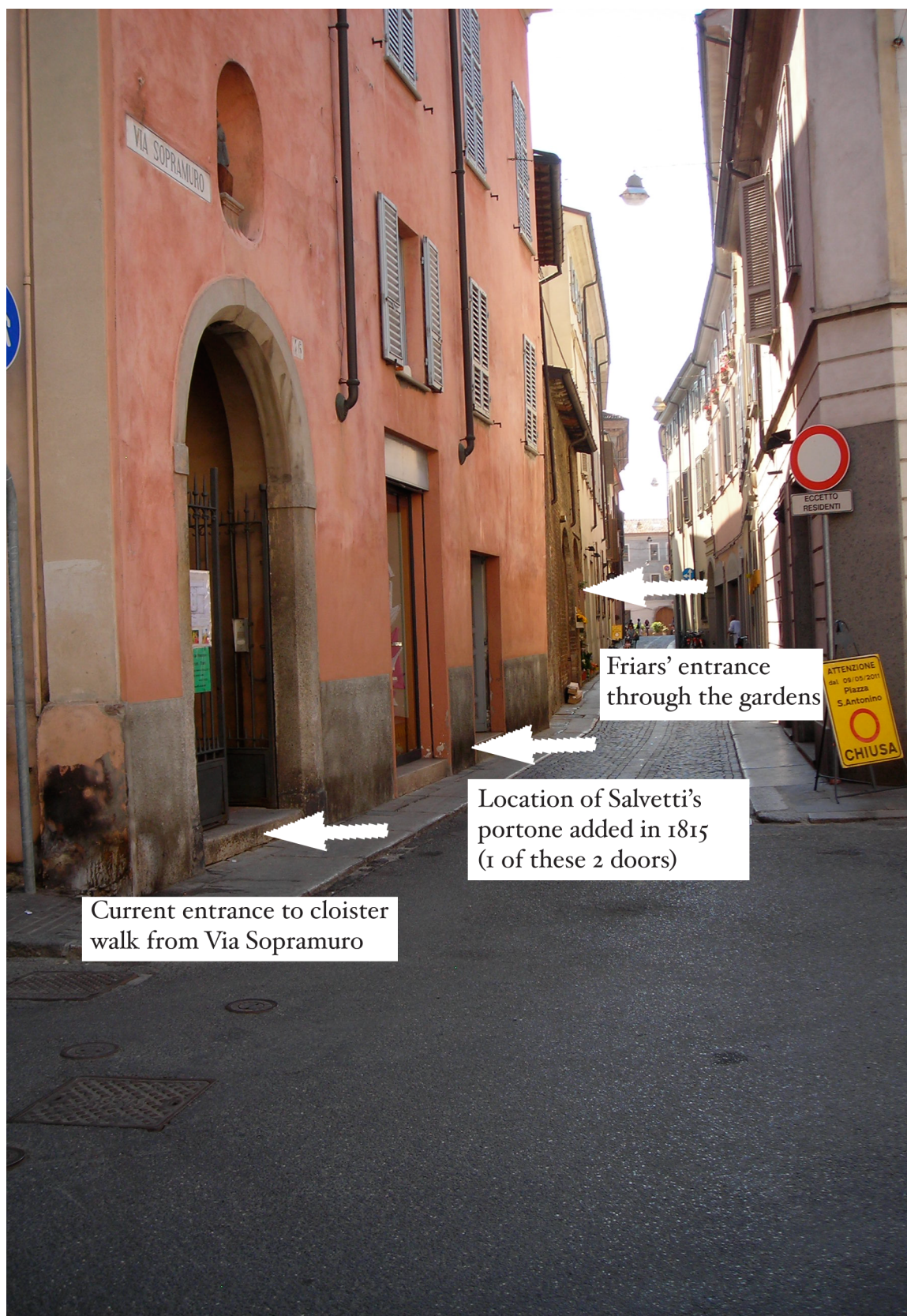
Figure 114. Path through cleared cloister arcade, 1855





Figure 115. Cloister south of church: same relationship between cloister arcade and south side of church as 1932 photograph. South entrance to the church visible at the rear, off axis with the arcade.





Current entrance to cloister  
walk from Via Sopramuro

Location of Salvetti's  
portone added in 1815  
(1 of these 2 doors)

Friars' entrance  
through the gardens

Figure 116. Three historical southern entrances to the convent/parish





**Figure 117. South entrance to the cloister today**





Figure 118. Botteghe degli orefici, Via XX Settembre, North side of San Francesco in Piacenza





Figure 119. Botteghe degli orefici, Via XX Settembre, North side of San Francesco in Piacenza





Figure 120. Botteghe degli orefici, Via XX Settembre, North side of San Francesco in Piacenza





Figure 121. Botteghe degli orefici, Via XX Settembre, North side of San Francesco in Piacenza



**Figure 122.** The Tombe dei Glossatori, prior to the demolition of the surrounding buildings and portico by Rubbiani



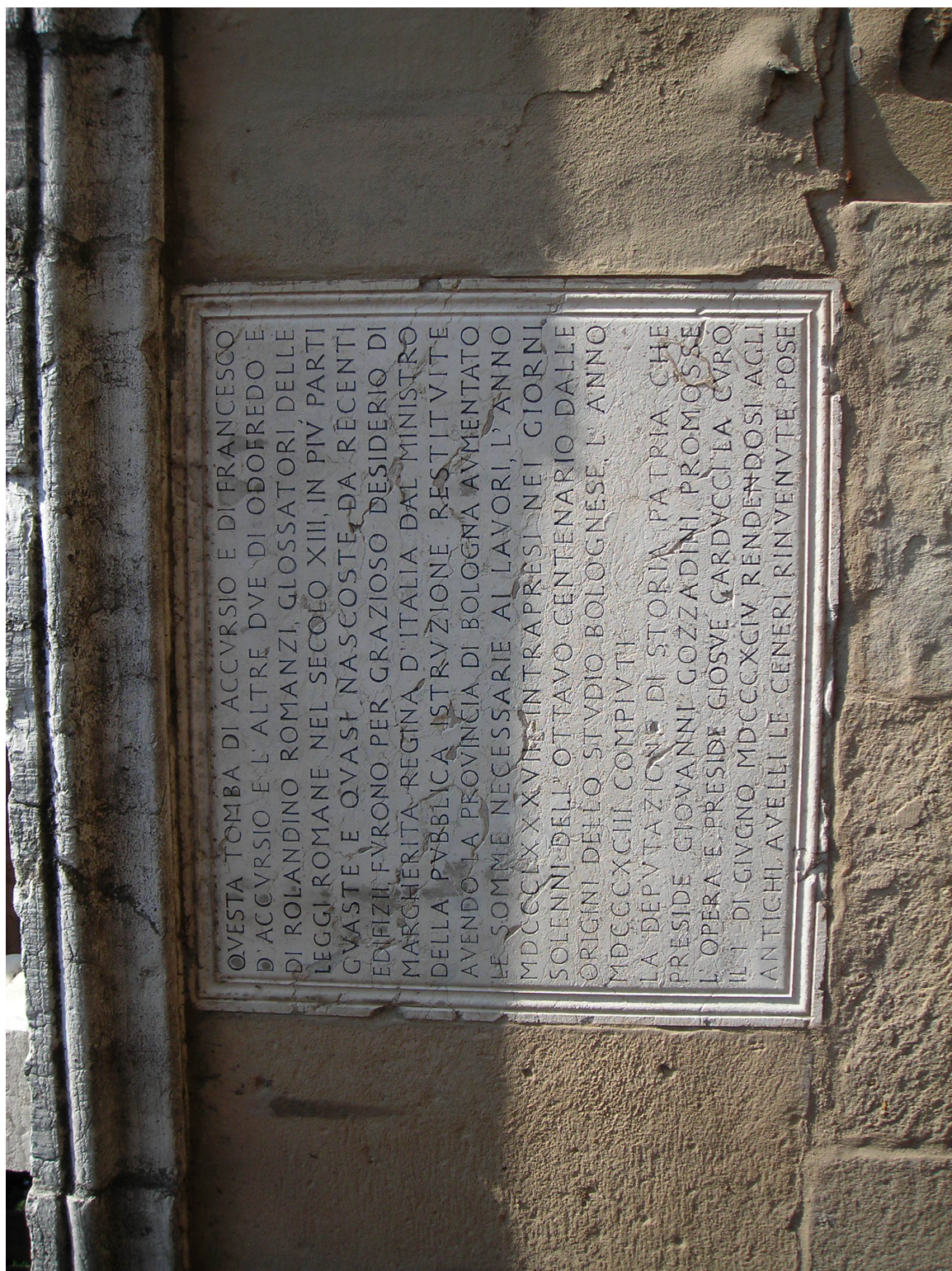


Figure 123. Inscription commemorating the restorations of the Tombe dei Glossatori, Bologna





**Figure 124. Tombe dei Glossatori after the Restorations of Alfonso Rubbiani**